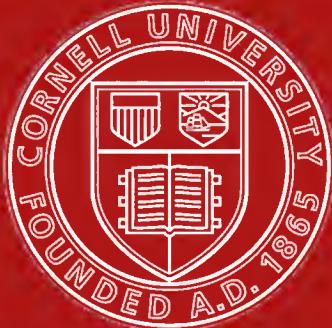


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WALTER DE MILEMETE
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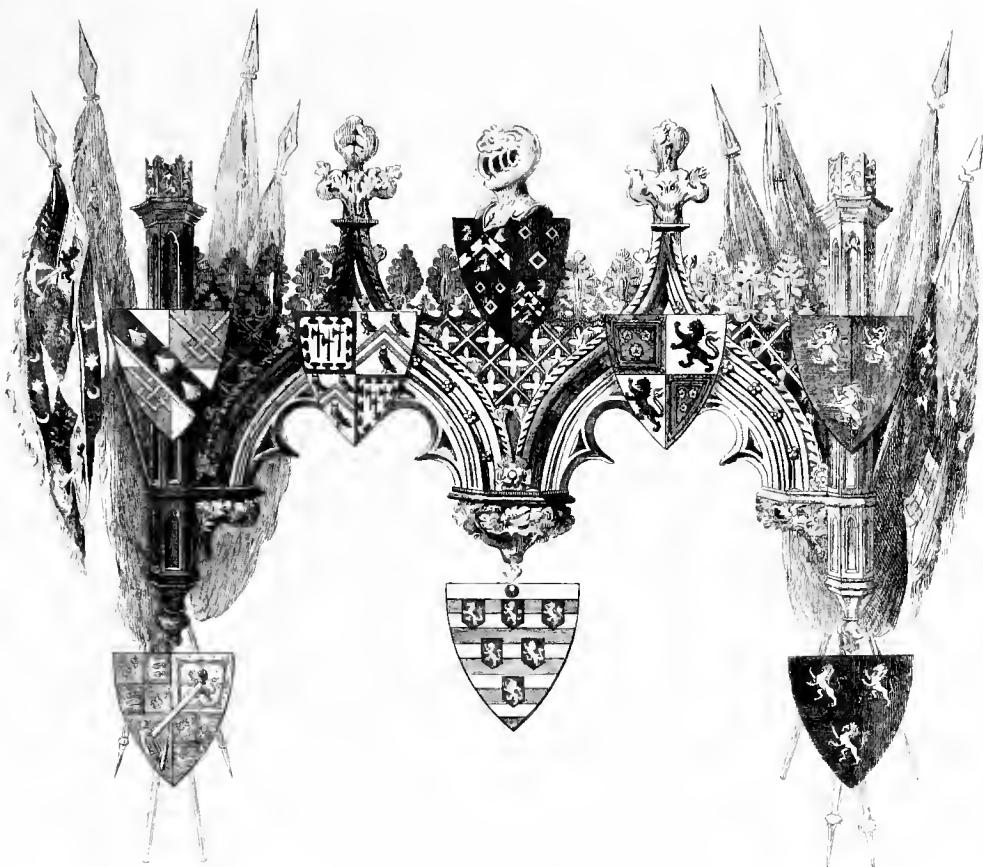
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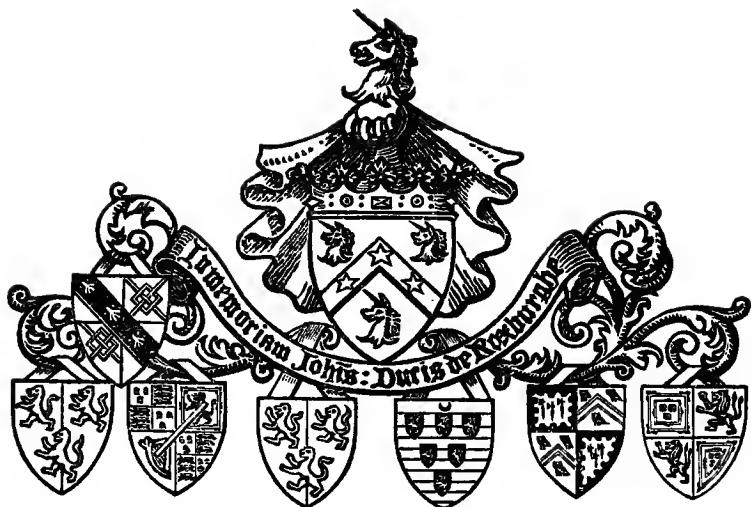
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The President and members of the Roxburghe Club desire to express their hearty thanks to Archbishop Wake's trustees for their kind permission to copy the manuscript which is reproduced in this volume, and for the facilities which they have courteously extended to the Club for carrying out the work.

They also desire to thank the Earl of Leicester for permission to copy certain pages of his manuscript; and to acknowledge with many thanks the assistance rendered by Mr. A. Van de Put, of the Victoria and Albert Museum, in interpreting the heraldic ornaments contained in the manuscripts.

April, 1913.

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INTRODUCTION

THE CHRIST CHURCH MANUSCRIPT

Description and History

THE manuscript measures $9\frac{7}{10}$ inches by $8\frac{3}{10}$, and contains $1 + 82$ free leaves (i. e. leaves not pasted to the covers); the text has 20 lines to a full page.

The binding is of beechwood boards. These are now covered by a 'chemise' of red patterned velvet, said to be of the fifteenth century, with ornaments broidered on it in gold and silver thread. The chemise when unfolded measures $24\frac{1}{5}$ inches in length by $20\frac{1}{5}$ in breadth. It is lined with thick deerskin (?). There are two tassels of yellow silk at the upper corners and remains of an edging of yellow or gold cord. The pattern of the velvet runs horizontally to the height of the book, and the ornaments are set in the same direction. These latter are all of one type, and appear to represent pomegranates set in calyxes.

The velvet is in good condition, but much tattered where it folds over at the upper edge of the book.

The collation is as follows : One fly-leaf : $1^4 2^8-5^8$ (wants 5) $6^8 7^8 8^{10}$ (+ 2 after the fourth leaf) $9^6 10^2 11^2$ (wants 1) 12 an anomalous quire of nine leaves : apparently consisting of six leaves *plus* two pairs of inserted leaves, and *minus* one leaf; but I cannot detect the place of the missing leaf : 13^2 (two lining the cover).

Very few of the catchwords or signatures remain.

On the vellum fly-leaf is this inscription :

'Bibliothecae Aedis Xth Oxon / Librum hunc donavit Guliel-
mus Carpender / Parochiae de Stanton super Vagam / in
Agro Herefordensi Rector, / Ejusdem Aedis olim Alumnus /

A.D. 1707.'

b

INTRODUCTION

The old press-mark was E. 11. The manuscript is no. 92 in Kitchin's Catalogue.

At the end is a note: '17¹²₁₃ March 4th returnd tynlly (?).'

Of the history of the volume before its arrival at Christ Church I find no trace; but it had not long been in Oxford—had not, in fact, been actually placed in the Library of his College by Dean Aldrich—before it attracted the notice of Thomas Hearne. In his *Collections* he gives an account of it which will be found interesting. The first note is under date 1706, Oct. 25 (*Collections*, vol. i, p. 298, ed. Oxford Historical Society):

‘The Dean of X^t Ch. has a MS^t written in y^e time of K. Edward III. Quaere w^t it is?’

Then on p. 299:

‘The Book above mention'd of the Dean of X^t Ch. was written by Walter de Milemet Clericus in the year 1326, viz. the 1st of the Reign of Edw. 3. It beginns thus (*the Rubric is quoted*).’

‘Tis in quarto & most curiously illuminated, containing some of the chief Courtiers etc. of that time, Arms, Birds, Beasts, etc. The Author I do not find mention'd in Leland, Bales, or Pits. The Shoes then wthout Heels, as appears from the Pictures. At the End of the Rubricks the Pictures of K. Edw. III & Qu. Philippa.

‘The Book itself beginns thus . . .

‘In the 2nd page the Arms of the K. of England. After that follow the Arms of the Prince of Wales, the Pictures of Courtney & Wake, the Arms of Th. Brotherton E. of Norfolk, viz. Gu. 3 Lions *pas. or*, a file of five. 2 of Edm. de Woodstock, viz. Gul. 3 Lions *passant or* wthin a Border Arg. wth other Arms of y^t Nature. The ii^d Chapter is . . .

‘Just above y^e Beginning of this chapter K. Ed. III is painted etc. as also he is in several places. Presently after the Beginning of this Chapter is the Author's Name . . . At the bottom of one page of this Chapter are y^e Arms of

Henry Earl of Lancaster . . . and of Edmund Earl of Lancaster. . . .

‘From this chapter it appears y^t this Author transcrib’d Aristotle’s Book intitled *de Secretis Secretorum* (w^{ch} Aristotle had presented to Alexander the Great) for y^e use of K. Edward, and y^t w^t he has writ in this Book was only by way of Supplement & Explication. This to be taken Notice of hereafter by y^e Editor of Aristotle’s Works. The Author very free in telling the King to preserve the Rights & Liberties of the Church. The Gloves much then as the tip’d Gloves now. The Arms of John de Eltham Earl of Cornwall . . . No sleeves to y^{eir} Coats. I take this to have been y^e very Copy that was presented to K. Edward by y^e Author.’

There are some other mentions of the manuscript in Hearne’s *Collections*, but they do not add materially to this, his principal account. It is noteworthy that he has seized upon a salient point of interest, namely, that the Christ Church MS. was not the whole of Walter de Milemete’s offering to the King, but that a sister book went with it. That sister book we have in the Holkham MS. of the *Secreta Secretorum*.

Walter de Milemete himself is, and must, I fear, remain, an obscure personality. He calls himself *clericus*, and is styled King’s clerk in the one document referring to him which I have been able to find.² This is in the Calendar of Patent Rolls of Edward III (1327–1330), p. 250. Here is entered under date 1328, March 5, York :

‘Grant to Master Walter de Milemete, King’s clerk, of the prebend which Adam de Carleton, late archdeacon of Cornwall, deceased, formerly had in the church of St. Thomas, Glasneye, in the King’s gift by reason of the voidance of the see of Exeter.’

At Glasney in Penryn, in the deanery of Kerrier in Corn-

¹ Hearne reproduces part of this account in his *Discourse on the Stunsfield tessellated Pavement* prefixed to vol. viii of Leland’s *Itinerary* (ed. 2, 1744, p. xxv).

² I was under the impression that I had been the first to trace the grant ; but the admirable Tanner has it in his *Bibliotheca*, p. 527, s. v. Millemete.

wall, was a collegiate church of St. Mary and St. Thomas the Martyr (of Canterbury) founded in 1264 (and enlarged in 1267) by Walter Bronescomb, bishop of Exeter, for a priest, a sacrist, eleven prebendaries, seven vicars and six choristers, which at its dissolution in 26 Henry VIII was valued at £210 13s. 2d. *in toto*, and £205 10s. 6d. *clare*.

The fullest account of the foundation is in Oliver's *Monasticon Dioc. Exoniensis*, p. 48. See also Dugdale (last ed.), vi. 1344, and Tanner's *Notitia*, s. v. Penryn.

Whether Walter de Milemete ever occupied his prebendal stall, and how long he enjoyed its revenues, I do not think we can expect to learn. There are no registers of the foundation in existence, and, I may add in passing, hardly any vestige of the buildings remains.

As to the date of the treatise, we have the authority of the introductory rubric that it was composed in the year 1326. That year, of course, must be taken as extending up to the 25th of March in what we should call the year 1327. It was, indeed, in the January of 132 $\frac{6}{7}$ that Edward III, declared guardian of the realm by his party in October, 1326, was placed on the throne. On Jan. 20 the resignation of Edward II was obtained: it was not until the 21st of September that he was murdered. Milemete's phraseology, quoted below, shows that when he wrote Edward III was in effective possession of the throne, but that Edward II was still living; and towards him such language is used as might not prove prejudicial to the writer if by any chance he should regain power. The execution of the Christ Church and the Holkham MSS. must, then, be assigned to the last months of 1326 and the first three of what we now call 1327. The Holkham MS. was apparently the first to be written (though it is the less finished of the two), for Milemete speaks of it as if it had been already sent. It was a safe gift to make to the heir-apparent of the kingdom: there were no allusions to contemporary politics, and the precepts contained in the text could not but be useful to one who was marked out as the next occupant of the throne. The same could

hardly be said of the supplement to it which we have in the Christ Church MS., where Edward III is definitely addressed as King. No doubt, as the situation developed, Milemete reflected that an additional gift, and one in which the rising power was more directly greeted, would be advisable ; and, to my thinking, he does his best to provide one without wholly cutting off the opportunity of a retreat.

Contents of the Manuscript

For the benefit of those who are not desirous of reading the whole text of Walter de Milemete—and I must say that no one who does read it will be much the wiser—a summary of the treatise shall be subjoined here.

The title (p. i) sets forth that the book is to treat of the things that concern the nobility, wisdom, and prudence of kings, and that it is written ‘in honour of the illustrious Lord Edward by the grace of God King of England, beginning to reign, in the year from the incarnation of the Lord thirteen hundred and twenty-six’.

Then follow the titles or rubrics of the chapters of the work. Seventeen titles are given, but there is no text corresponding to the first, which is : *Of the supplications and divine prayers which befit a king, and of the stories of the acts of our Creator, which the King ought to contemplate.* As the text begins a new quire there is no means of knowing whether this first chapter ever existed. It may have been intended to fill the four pages following the rubrics, which are now occupied by pictures.

CHAPTER I. *Of the invocation of the name of God at the beginning of every work.*

The writer quotes a number of passages from the *Codex*, the *Authentica*, the *Digest*, the *Decretum* of Gratian, and the *Timaeus Platonis* (the last on God as Creator of all) to justify his invocation of the Deity, and ends with a prayer or aspiration which contains some interesting features. He prays that God would grant him grace to write ‘that which may tend to the

benefit and honour of our venerable Lord, Lord Edward Duke of Aquitaine, Earl of Chester and Ponthieu,¹ for the love of whom this treatise has been made. That the glorious God Himself may grant to *our Lord the Duke, and* Earl of Chester (the words *domino nostro duci* are written over an erasure and the *et* is added *après coup*), the firstborn son and heir of our illustrious Lord, Lord Edward, by the grace of God King of England (whom may the Most High help and preserve in all his good and useful actions), that he may understand wisely the things that are written in this book,' etc. etc.

The first Edward mentioned in this sentence is clearly Edward III. Clearly also his father Edward II was alive when the words were written; and to him a sort of modified allegiance is expressed. The prayer that he may be helped *in cunctis suis actibus bonis et utilibus* implies to my thinking that he was thought capable of other acts which were not *boni et utiles*.

CHAPTER II. *An Epistle enticing the Lord King to the acquiring of kingly knowledge.*

To his most excellent and illustrious Lord Edward, by the divine provision (not *permissoine* but *provisione*) King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, his humble and devoted *Walter de Milemete, clerk, (offereth)* reverence and honour and *faithful worship of devotion, himself* and all that is his, etc.

(The italicized words have apparently been rewritten, probably in consequence of an error. It is not likely that anything very different stood in their place originally.)

May God give you success. You know that the kingly office exceeds all others in dignity; and it is the duty of subjects to consider how they may increase the power and majesty of their lords, since the prosperity and success of the lords tend to the profit of the commonwealth, and of all subjects.

Hence it is that I your subject have thought fit to compose

¹ He was created Earl of Ponthieu and Duke of Aquitaine by his father in September, 1325.

this work, and also the book of the philosopher Aristotle, in which a great store of human wisdom and discretion is contained : as will appear later on clearly enough in various chapters.

Whence it brings joy to the hearts of men, and the realm of England may well be glad, that you, Lord King, *Duke* (the word *Dux* is added at the end of a line, and *Rex* may also be an addition), and Earl, firstborn son and heir of our illustrious Lord King *lately* (the word *nuper* is also added at the end of a line) of England—whom may the supreme God cherish in all his profitable acts and always grant him the grace to do well—are, as I truly believe, by the providence of God learned in letters, and instructed in liberal and legal knowledge. (The words run ‘et michi scienciis liberalibus et legalibus instructi’: *michi* has some appearance of having a line drawn through it; perhaps it is a mistake for *in* or for *multis*.)

From this will accrue many advantages, as will be shown in this treatise, and as I find (*inuenio* wrongly written) in divers books that in ancient times the sons of kings and nobles were taught by wise masters. For knowledge makes a man (a whole list of excellences is given). Whence it is clear that a king instructed after a proper sort will (be everything that could be wished). Of this there is clear evidence from the case of Alexander the Great, who subdued many nations owing to the counsels of a certain philosopher Aristotle, the wisest that ever was. He wrote for King Alexander a book called the Book concerning the secrets of the secrets of Aristotle. It was written when the author was too aged and too weak in body to live at the Court ; and by means of it Alexander was enabled to achieve great success. And for this reason I have thought well to have that book copied word for word for your use, that you might have the benefit of its teaching, along with other supplements and instructions concerning the kingly office which I have thought out and added in *this* book. Thus you will have the same advantages as Alexander ; and if you make use of them I am sure that when you come to man’s estate you will be

eminently successful, and in the end attain everlasting life. And that it may be so, let every one who reads this chapter or hears it read say devoutly to the praise and honour of God and of the Blessed Virgin three Paternosters and the salutation of the glorious Virgin.

CHAPTER III. *Of the religion of the King and of his hope in the divine power in all he does.*

There is nothing so important as the true faith, which the prince should learn. What is learnt early remains in the mind till old age ; so early religious instruction is important.

The King must keep the liberties of the Church unscathed : he should attend upon its ministries, hear Mass at least once a day, give alms, help the oppressed, and do good works.

He should command all religious persons (= monks) in his realm to pray for the King, the Queen, and their children, and to commemorate his predecessors.

He should love God above all things. This will secure him the reverence of his subjects ; and if there should arise a dissension between the King and his barons, or among his subjects, they will say to each other : ‘Lo, we have a good Christian king who loves God and the Church. We shall do well to submit ourselves to him : and if we have done anything against him, we repent of it, and will humbly ask his pardon.’

CHAPTER IV. *Of the nobility of the King, the prosperity of his government, and the cause of his expedicio.*

Wisdom, justice, and mercy are the means which will procure the love and attachment of the nobles and commons, and will pave the way to conquest, prosperity, and everlasting life.

CHAPTER V. *Of the wisdom of the King.*

Wisdom is a very desirable thing. It leads to victory and to peace. The King must keep peace among his *magnates* : he should not take part with one against another : he should consider all causes carefully, and, in particular, the propositions made *in parliamentis*.

CHAPTER VI. *Of the deliberation of the King.*

He must do all things discreetly and under advice. Nobles and prelates will often come and ask for divers boons, as for liberties to be granted to them, escheats, wards, marriages, lands and rents to be held in mortmain, immunities and privileges to be granted to places and individuals. These must be dealt with fairly and carefully, not hastily. The answer should be, 'We have heard your petition, and will deliberate upon it with our council.' If the request can be granted without damage to you, it should be granted. A great man should perform what he has promised without undue haste or delay.

CHAPTER VII. *Of the gratitude of the King.*

Men do service for three principal causes : (1) from natural inclination ; (2) from hope of gain ; (3) from compulsion.

Each of these classes is dwelt upon.

The first deserve most of their lord.

The second may be foreign vassals from another province, mercenaries, serving the King in war as *schanaldores*,¹ or else powerful subjects of your own. These a wise king will summon before him when the war is over, and will thank them graciously and reward them generously. Then they will say, 'This is a worthy lord to serve under.' This was the practice of the great Alexander.

The third class should also be fittingly rewarded. Nothing is more injurious than ingratitude. There is a metrical adage :

*Lex et natura, Christus et omnia iura
Dampnant ingratum, lamentantur fore natum.*

The soldiers will say in such a case, 'We have toiled hard for no return.' Though they may show a good face to you, their hearts will be far from you. For these causes such men . . . (here a leaf is lost ; it may have contained reflections upon Edward II, and may therefore have been purposely removed).

¹ I have not succeeded in tracing this word.

CHAPTER VIII. *Of the progress of the King's instruction.*

The chapter begins with a prayer for a blessing on the understanding of the King. You should, continues the author, know how to read and speak French and Latin, and among other things it is very useful to possess a knowledge of the art of writing, even though you may not always be busy with it: for it is very important to be able to write letters yourself, and avoid entrusting your counsels to a scribe. This again was the practice of Alexander.

CHAPTER IX. *Of the counsels and secret purposes of the King, how they should not be revealed, and of the tests to be employed for councillors.*

There is great danger of a secretary becoming false to you. You should test him by asking him to reveal to you all the secrets he knows. If he refuses and keeps on refusing—saying ‘Lord, in any other matter I would obey your will, but in this it is impossible’—you may trust him. There will be men who will come to you unasked, and curry favour by offering to reveal the secrets of other persons. These you should by no means trust. There is a method of knowing by means of the science of astronomy the difference between a true and a false man: but it is too long to be set down here.

CHAPTER X. *Of the solaces of the King, and of minstrelsy which should be used in his Court.*

The King may and should, as time and place are suitable, divert himself with hawks, hunt with dogs, exercise himself with arms and horsemanship. To look upon delightful books, to have well-proportioned objects presented to his vision, to listen to harmonized sounds (*sonos temperatos*) and to all sorts of instruments which can wholesomely solace the senses of man, and to indulge in other seemly sports which do not detract from his dignity,—all these things are good for the King, and will fit him for his more serious work. But he should avoid degrading amusements.

CHAPTER XI. *That every covetous, avaricious, or envious person should be removed from the company of the King.*

The author amplifies this theme, but adds nothing to it.

CHAPTER XII. *Of the provision of the King for his men of war.*

It is of great importance to equip the poorer vassals. Look out promising young men. And, unless the end can be better attained by other means, you may by request or royal letters require the religious of your abbeys and priories to provide fittingly for their food and clothing. Nor is this prejudicial to the monasteries, for they are known to possess lands and revenues exceeding their necessities, and besides, in time of war, these soldiers will defend them. The men thus provided for should be trained and drilled : they will owe you gratitude for their maintenance, and in war one of them will be worth six raw recruits.

Similarly, you should provide for old and worn-out soldiers. You should also from time to time review your army and exhort your soldiers to act valiantly and maintain the honour of the realm.

CHAPTER XIII. *An exposition of the letter which King Alexander sent to the philosopher Aristotle.*

The point here is that, like Alexander, the King should be liberal and gracious to the nobles of a conquered province.

CHAPTER XIV. *Of the moral virtues pertaining to a king.*

A king should be better than other people. He should cultivate Justice, Prudence, Gratitude, Temperance, Liberality. Each of these virtues is dwelt upon in a commonplace way.

CHAPTER XV. *Of the mercy of the King.*

Mercy is especially to be shown to prisoners.

The writing of pp. 116, 117 is more contracted than elsewhere in the book. Doubtless this is because pp. 118, 119 are occupied by full-page pictures, and the writer found that

his matter was likely to trespass upon them. The writing here seems to me identical with that of the Holkham MS.

CHAPTER XVI. *Of the battles of the King, of the wisdom he must practise in war, and of the exercises of knights and other warriors.*

Let him who wishes for peace be prepared for war.

It was practice and training in arms and military discipline that enabled the Romans, few in number and small in stature, to prevail against the multitudes of Gauls and the tall Germans.

Most nations who dwell in countries situated near the sun are by nature timid.

Peasants are better soldiers than dwellers in towns, accustomed to hard toil, able to stand the sun, unaccustomed to baths (read *Balneorum* for *Baueorum*) and luxuries. Young men, too, are more useful than old men.

Various reflections on bravery and cowardice and the size of an army follow.

The benefits of training. Sallust¹ says of Pompey, ‘*Cum alacribus saltu, cum uelocibus cursu, cum ualidis ueste certabat.*’ He would not otherwise have been able to resist Sertorius.

The throwing of torches and making terrifying noises are useful expedients at the beginning of a battle.

Different formations should be adopted for infantry and cavalry. The ancients compared infantry to a wall.

You should be provided with wooden towers (*castra lignea*) to attack your enemy and to spy on his movements, and also other kinds of machines to throw great stones (*grossos* for *gressos*) and darts to break down the buildings and walls of cities. In some countries, too, there are elephants which carry wooden towers.

Precepts as to taking of counsel.

You should often visit your army and stimulate the men by promises of reward.

Mistakes in war are irrevocable.

¹ In the *Histories*, quoted by Vegetius, *de re militari*, i. 9.

Constantia is a great requisite in a king.

Look after your commissariat. Keep on the move. Night watches are essential. Employ spies. The utility of encouraging the soldiers by speeches.

On the day of battle soldiers should eat moderately.

Liberality should be studied when the dividing of the spoil comes.

‘And so, most noble Lord, if you observe these lessons concerning wars and conflicts, and the many others which were taught by Aristotle, the prince of philosophers, to the noble King Alexander of Macedon, the conqueror of the world, and are more fully contained in the book *de secretis secretorum et prudentiis regum*, sent by me to you, I have a firm confidence that you will enjoy upon earth victory, honour, and favour, and in heaven, reigning with God and the whole heavenly host, everlasting glory. Which God grant, who liveth and reigneth without end. Amen.’

I will not say that all this advice is not very correct; but Milemete has not the power of making it interesting. All that he writes has the air of second-hand book-learning. The chapters that deal with the virtues that befit the King and with war have much in common with the *de Secretis Secretorum*, and testify also to a knowledge of the work of Vegetius. But whereas a large portion of the *de Secretis* is occupied with the subject of medicine and diet, Milemete has nothing to add on these topics.

The Decoration of the Manuscript

As to the number of artists who have been employed on the manuscript there is room for difference of opinion. It will not be contested that pp. 1–10, 118, 119, and the outline drawings at the end, are the work of a single hand. These, however, carry with them the combats in the border of pp. 120 sqq., and, of course, the picture in the text of p. 120. We are not

justified in separating these combats from the other portions of the borders. There is a hooded dog-headed monster on p. 138 who coincides remarkably with one on p. 110. (On the other hand, the hairy creatures on pp. 88 and 128, alike though they are, need not be by the same hand.)

We may, to begin with, assign to artist I practically all the work on pp. 1-10, and from 118 to the end, besides a possible share in intermediate portions.

Reverting now to the beginning, and taking no account of the illustrations in the text, we find a uniform series of heraldic and decorative borders with occasional small figures of knights, extending from p. 11 to p. 56, with one deviation on p. 37 (possibly also p. 38): pp. 59, 60, 63, 64, 67, 68 may be by the same hand. We call him artist II.

With p. 57 begins a series of borders in compartments in which are grotesques and other figures, while heraldry is discarded except at rare intervals. With the exceptions already recorded, and others to be mentioned, the work of this artist (III) extends over pp. 57-70. Then comes a leaf by artist I (pp. 71, 72; compare the nude man on p. 71 with that on p. 104): pp. 73, 74 are by another, whom we have not met with before (artist IV).

Artist III resumes at p. 75 and goes on to 82: pp. 83, 84, and (I think) 85 are by artist IV: 86-90 are coarser work: 91, 92 seem to be III's: 93-96 I attribute to artist II: 97-102 are by one artist, whether III or IV I do not feel certain. With 103 a new quire begins, and I am inclined to assign the whole of the subsequent work to artist I.¹

Tabulating these surmises we get the following scheme:

quire i	pp. 1-10	Pictures and borders	Artist I
quires ii-iv	pp. 11-56 (except perhaps 37, 38)	Borders	Artist II
quire v ¹	pp. 57, 58	Borders	Artist III
v ²	pp. 59, 60	—	Artist II
v ³	pp. 61, 62	—	Artist III
v ⁴	pp. 63, 64	—	Artist II?
(v ⁵ lost)		—	
v ⁶	pp. 65, 66	—	Artist III

¹ A possible exception is p. 115.

quire	pp.	Borders	
v ⁷	67, 68	—	Artist II
v ⁸	pp. 69, 70	—	Artist III
vi ¹	pp. 71, 72	—	Artist I
vi ²	pp. 73, 74	—	Artist IV
vi ³⁻⁶	pp. 75-82	—	Artist III
vi ⁷	pp. 83, 84	—	Artist IV
vi ⁸	p. 85	—	Artist IV (or I)
vii ¹⁻³	pp. 86-92	—	Artist III?
vii ^{4, 5}	pp. 93-96	—	Artist II
vii ⁶⁻⁸	pp. 97-102	—	Artist III (or IV)
quires viii-xii	pp. 103-156	Pictures and borders	Artist I

The pictures in the text are also the work of several artists. We have seen that one hand is responsible for those at the beginning and end. For the rest the following division is submitted, which is practically that of Mr. S. C. Cockerell, who has also given me the benefit of his advice in the discrimination of the work in the borders.

A single artist, A, is responsible for the illustrations on pp. 11, 16, 53, and *possibly* 85.

A second, B, did those on pp. 36, 42.

A third, C, those on pp. 48 and 115: note the similarity of the suppliant figures in the two pictures. Yet the picture on p. 115 occurs in the middle of work by artist I, and I cannot be sure that it is not his.

To a fourth artist, D, is assigned the single picture on p. 74.

To a fifth, E, those on pp. 88, 92, 99, 102.

It must be added that artist A did at least the figures in the border of p. 11, and as these cannot easily be separated from the rest of the border, it seems as if we should identify him with artist II of the borders.

To artist II are assigned ff. 1-5 of the Holkham MS., and to artist IV, f. 14 and some others in that volume.

Of the various artists whose work is thus tentatively divided, none attains to the highest excellence. The work of artist I is characterized by boldness and largeness of execution. It seems not unlikely, judging from the full-page compositions, in which I should say that he took most pleasure, that he was accustomed to deal with larger surfaces than were afforded by the pages of books. It is possible that his proper work was that of a mural

painter. I see no such indication in the work of the remaining artists ; they were book-illustrators, and most of them very competent men. But all that is most original in the volume is the work of a single painter, who seems here to be working under conditions which did not allow his productions to be seen to the best advantage.

It is not necessary, in the case of the Christ Church MS., to describe in detail each of the decorated pages, since reproductions of all of them are before the reader. I will, however, enumerate the subjects represented, and add such explanatory remarks as appear useful. Notes on the heraldic portions of the decorations are reserved for a special section.

p. 1. The pictures all have reference to hawking. In the principal one the young King sits with hawk on hand, and holding a hawking glove. On r. and l. in the margins are young men with hawking gloves and a hawk. Below them on l. another with hawking gloves, and on r. one beating a metal vessel to put up the game. Both these are looking at the scene below, where a man with a lure (of two birds' wings) in his hand is flying a hawk at two ducks which are about to rise out of a stream.

p. 2 has knights and shields. These, and the fancy grotesques, it is no part of my plan to notice.

p. 3. Margin : a dragon and a 'monk-fish'.

p. 4. A St. Christopher of the ordinary type occupies half the page.

p. 5. Full page : St. George arming the young King : he is about to hand to him the shield of England.

pp. 6, 7. A group of four knights on horseback assailing a castle of ladies. The knights have no weapons, and the ladies, four in number, are repelling the attack by throwing flowers and shooting—possibly flowers—from bows apparently empty. The scene resembles those sieges of the Castle of Love which are often figured on the ivory caskets of the period.

p. 8. A king and queen seated. It cannot be Edward III,

or, at least, it cannot be his queen who is intended to be shown, for in 1326 he was not yet married. An angel flying down gives a flower to each, as in the pictures of St. Cecilia.

p. 9. Picture in text (cap. i, Of the invocation of the name of God). The Trinity (of the form known as the 'Italian' Trinity, with the crucified Son). Three angels arm the kneeling King ; one handing him a lance, the others holding out sword and shield.

At top two angels adore the picture of Christ. On R. in the margin kneels a beardless youth. In the initial a page holds a caparisoned horse.

p. 16. Picture in text (the *Epistola affectiva*, cap. ii). The King throned, with three bishops and Milemete on L., and four courtiers on R. Milemete, conventionally represented, wears a long robe with a hood lined with vair, and holds up a book—this book, we may suppose—offering it to the King.

p. 27. Note the lion and griffin.

p. 28. Picture in text (Of the importance of religion to the King). Christ throned in air, holding the tripartite globe and blessing. On L. the King, robed, kneels and adores Him. Above his head two angels. The lower holds out a folded robe, the one above is nude. Possibly this represents the charity which the King should exercise in clothing the naked. On R. stand three boys in a row : the one in the middle has in each hand something like a short piece of a garland of leaves or flowers, the end of which is held by those on each side of him, so that the three seem at first sight to be holding each other by the hand. These also may be recipients of the King's charity. Above their heads are three angels playing musical instruments.

In the initial, the King throned.

In the lower border the King on a white horse. A page adjusts his spur or stirrup : another by the horse's head may be holding the reins.

p. 36. Picture in text (Of the nobility of the King). The King throned, with groups of subjects kneeling on R. and L. Christ stooping out of a cloud above crowns him. On L. are

three demi-angels, two playing fiddle and double pipe, the lowest holding out a heart-shaped object: on R. four angels, two with harp and lute, the next with a five-petalled flower (the five wounds ?), the lowest with a cross.

p. 37. Initial: the King kneels to Christ, who is seated.

p. 42. The King throned: four bishops on L., four courtiers on R.: two angels above.

p. 48. Picture in text. The King throned: on L. two bishops and a barefooted suppliant: on R. two courtiers. The text (*de regis deliberacione*) says that people of all estates will bring petitions to the King.

Initial: the King throned.

p. 53. Picture in text (Of the King's gratitude). The King throned. On L. three mailed knights with lances looking up at him. On R. a group of men holding out a piece of money (?), a charter with seal dependent, a gold cup, a garment: below, in front, a group of horses (one saddled) and a hound. These represent the military service and the tribute of various kinds which the King will receive and must repay becomingly.

With p. 57 begins a series of borders with bold grotesques and other figures, in compartments.

p. 57 has King, bishop, fiddler, organ-player; also a butterfly at top. At bottom a scene: a barefooted churl in a hooded robe gallops off to R. on a dappled horse, carrying off a lady and brandishing a huge dart. She stretches out her arms to a knight in armour on foot on L., who is, I suppose, to rescue her.

p. 58. King seated with hawk on hand: lady seated with pet squirrel: two men with bow and cross-bow shooting upwards: two knights, one squatting cross-legged, one opening his visor.

pp. 59, 60 have only decorative borders.

p. 61. Monkey and dancer: harper and piper: combat of monsters.

p. 62. King seated: Queen standing: monkey: lute-player: dancer.

p. 63. Angels adoring the Holy Face : kneeling knight and clerk : page holding caparisoned horse.

p. 65. Initial : Christ throned, blessing and holding the tripartite globe : adoring figure in the margin on L.

Border : knight ; bust of bishop ; stag ; dog as huntsman with horn, bow and arrows ; hare, similarly equipped and looking upwards at him ; combat of knight on horse and churl sitting cross-legged on dragon's back.

p. 66. Two armed figures : monsters.

pp. 67, 68. Decorative only.

p. 69. King and Queen standing : hooded dwarf : combat of knight and monster.

p. 70. Knight : St. Katherine with wheel and sword : man in short cloak only, thrusting arm into lion's mouth and brandishing sword : centaur thrusting sword into bear's mouth.

p. 71. Dancer and man with hurdy-gurdy : triple-faced man : nude bald man with sword fighting bear.

p. 72. King with glove : King with slender sceptre or cross : monsters.

p. 73. Swan with cygnets on her back.

p. 74. Picture in text (Of the King's counsels, etc.). The King throned, a bishop on L. speaking : two courtiers on R.

p. 75. King seated, in consternation : Queen stands gestulating.

Spoonbill : stag-hunt at bottom.

p. 76. Monkey climbing tree to take a bird's nest : smaller monkey below. Nude man with sword fighting dragon. Monsters.

p. 77. Old and young King seated, each with sword, arguing. Knight and bare-headed gentleman girt with sword.

p. 78. King and Queen seated arguing ; he is cross-legged, in an animated attitude. Man with bagpipe. At bottom, the fable of the Unicorn : a crowned virgin sits on L. holding up a mirror. The unicorn, couchant at her feet, turns his head round to the huntsman on R., who pierces him with a spear.

p. 79. Young and old Kings sit arguing. At bottom, a

lion attacks, from behind, an old bare-legged man on a dappled horse, with dart and shield.

p. 80. Knight drawing his sword to attack a dragon. Old man with crutch. Combat of monsters.

p. 81. Long-necked bird : man bending cross-bow and holding the bolt in his mouth.

At bottom on l. a castle gate : a knight fighting a dragon with human head and long tusks.

p. 82. Two youths in civilian dress arguing. At bottom, two knights jousting.

p. 85. (Of the solaces of the King.) Picture in text in two compartments. Above, the King throned ; his expression is (unintentionally, I think) melancholy : on l. a bishop talks to him : on r. two courtiers. Below, two men playing respectively a harp (the lower end in its bag) and a stationary organ. In the border are musicians : on l. (from top) they have double pipe, fiddle, lute, drum, bagpipe ; on r. (from top), trumpet, fiddle, pipe and tabor (?), and portable organ.

p. 86. At bottom, lion attacking a white horse from behind.

p. 87. Lady sits talking : hooded man seated, apparently dismayed. At bottom, combat of two pairs of knights.

p. 88. Picture in text (Of the removal of avaricious persons, etc., from the King's Court). The King throned in c. On l. a man holding two bags of money. On r. a robed bearded courtier looks at this latter and draws his sword : another speaks to him.

In the border : a sciapous (a man with a single broad foot which he holds up, lying on his back, to protect him against the heat of the sun) ; a seated ape (?) wearing a lady's head-dress ; a man seated calculating with an abacus ; one standing and speaking. At bottom, a male and female monster, each covered with long hair.

p. 89. Initial : throned King.

Border : Queen and King standing. Monsters.

p. 90. Similar : Queen and King.

p. 91. Monsters : combat of monsters.

p. 92. Picture in text (Of the King's providing for his men-at-arms). The King, throned in c., holds in each hand a charter with dependent seal. On r. and l. two men, one standing and the other kneeling : they are beardless and robed : the kneeling men take the charters.

Border : knights ; monsters. At bottom, unicorn fighting with lion.

p. 93. Initial : Christ seated blessing and holding the tripartite globe.

p. 97. Monsters: savage (?). At bottom, elephant between two trees.

p. 98. Monsters, one on stilts. At bottom, knight on dappled horse tilting at a monster.

p. 99. Picture in text (Exposition of the letter of Alexander). The King throned in c. under architecture. On l. stands a philosopher speaking, holding a glove. On r. three kneeling men in close hoods.

Initial : the King throned.

At bottom, a stag-hunt with three men and a dog : the stag's neck is pierced by an arrow ; the man on r. has a long-handled axe and is sounding a horn.

p. 100. Monster beating a metal vessel : hawk attacking a duck. At bottom : on l. a fountain on a mound ; a duck in air ; a lady beating a metal bowl to put up another duck ; a hawk on the wing ; two ladies, one of whom has flown her hawk, the other has hers on her hand.

p. 101. Monsters, one beating a drum.

p. 102. Picture in text (Of the moral virtues of the King). The King throned in c. under architecture: on l. a bishop, on r. a courtier.

Border : three women, one playing a fiddle. At bottom, combat between a muzzled bear (?) and a monkey, mounted on two curious animals.

p. 103. Mitred merman blowing a trumpet.

p. 104. A similar creature. At bottom, a nude bald man with shield and spear attacking a lion.

p. 105. Peacock and rabbit.
 p. 106. Combat between lion and lioness (?).
 p. 107. Ostrich (hoofed) with horseshoe in its beak. Two griffins.

p. 108. Spotted beast with broad tail. At bottom, a man putting a ferret into a rabbit-hole in a mound. Three rabbits look out of other holes: there is a net with posts on the mound.

p. 109. Goldfinch: busts of bishops: eagle: naked one-legged man. At bottom, centaur shooting at a snail.

p. 110. Grotesque man with hatchet: stork: monster walking with trestles. At bottom, a monkey pulling the tail of a dog-headed monster.

p. 111. Butterfly: dog: hare playing double pipe.

p. 112. Busts.

p. 113. Monkey and leopard.

p. 115. Picture in text (Of the mercy of the King). The King throned in c.: on either side a robed man presents two kneeling prisoners. Of those on L. it is seen that the wrist of one and the ankles of the other are bound apparently with ropes: of those on R., who are almost naked, one has both wrists and ankles bound. At the sides are two gaolers with maces.

Initial: the King throned. At bottom, angels and shields.

p. 116. Combat of monsters.

p. 117. Monkey with hood. Elephant and castle.

pp. 118, 119. Full-page pictures of a battle. In front lie headless trunks, one of which is being stripped by a camp-follower, heads, swords, and gauntlets. Spaces have been ruled off at top and bottom of each page, and those at top are filled with bands of ornament. These pictures are by the artist of pp. 1-10, and so is the work that follows.

p. 120. Picture in text (Of the King's wars, etc.). The King crowned and armed on horseback in the midst of a group of eight men, six of whom are knights, the remaining two civilians in close caps, whom the King addresses.

In the initial, the Holy Face.

At bottom a combat of two pairs of knights : a lady in a tower on L.

p. 121. Two knights, one in close cap, his helmet off, seated in a chair. Two ladies in towers. At bottom, a combat of four knights.

p. 122. Two knights jousting.

p. 123. Similar.

p. 124. Two knights at the sides. At bottom, the King on horseback and another fight two knights on R.

p. 125. Busts of bishops. Two knights, one in a tall helmet which, seen sideways, is of the form of a cocked hat. This type occurs again on pp. 146, 150, 151, where its central ridge is plainly seen: on p. 151 it is visored.

At bottom, two knights fighting with swords on horseback; a third on R. on a horse, in helmet as above.

p. 126. Busts and monsters.

p. 127. At bottom, a white horse kicking a bear. Probably an illustration of a story of the bear being told by the fox that he would find some precious remedy under the horse's tail.

p. 128. Man and woman masquerading as beasts, covered with long hair.

p. 129. Two round turrets on L.: in one is a door, in the side of the other a lion's head out of which flows a stream of water. A duck is rising out of the stream, and a man is shooting it at close quarters: a tree on R.

p. 130. A visored helmet: a knight. At bottom, four knights on foot fighting: two of them are being pierced with swords; one has a mace.

p. 131. Weasel (?) : two mermaids. At bottom, on L., two knights with sword and mace are about to kill a third: two more on R. fight with swords. All are on foot.

p. 132. Two knights, one drawing a sword: a mermaid with a mirror.

At bottom, on L., a tall tower entirely covered with spikes—

chevaux de frise. At the top emerges the figure of the King, beardless. In an arched opening at the bottom stands a knight with a shield.

On r. is a castle with portcullised gates.

p. 133. Three knights, one drawing a sword.

At bottom, a catapult. A knight on r. at a windlass has just released the catch, and the rope of the windlass is flying free. The knight has a sort of mace.

p. 134. At bottom, on l., the King and a knight on horseback. The King addresses three knights who stand in a row on r.

p. 135. A knight and three monsters. At bottom, the King on horseback on l., attended by two knights, rides at and pierces with his lance the King of Scotland, who falls backwards. He and his four knights are on foot.

p. 136. Monsters and a hare. At bottom, on l., a castle with two knights, one with shield, the other (at top) with crossbow. In c. a great arbalest carrying a large dart aimed at the door of the castle is being wound up by means of a windlass or capstan by a knight on r. Another, behind him, receives an arrow in his shield.

p. 137. A cockatrice. A pelican in her piety.

At bottom, on l., a castle: out of it bend two knights with shields. One tries to cut with a large falchion the cord of an arbalest which is being wound up by a knight on r.

p. 138. Dog-headed monster.

p. 139. Two knights. Shields.

p. 140. Angel and shields. Two knights, one with the shield of England.

At bottom: on l. a two-storied tower with two arched doors. In c. a cannon in the form of a large metal bottle resting on a table with trestle-legs. Out of its mouth comes a dart (said to have been originally tipped with fire which has flaked off). The dart is aimed at the door of the tower. A knight on r. is holding to the touch-hole on the upper side of the body of the cannon a match, which is fixed in the end of a

curved stick. For a similar picture see Holkham MS., f. 44 *b*.

p. 141. Blank, ruled for writing. p. 142 blank.

pp. 143 sqq. are occupied by a series of outline drawings in plain frames occupying the whole page. They are by the same artist as pp. 1-10 and the latter part of the MS.

p. 143 represents a castle with the approach defended by battlemented walls: one armed knight is in the gate, and another within the battlemented wall of the inner bailey. The keep has a domed lead roof.

pp. 144, 145 form a single composition. On p. 144 two knights are propelling by means of staves a wooden tower on four solid wheels, to the front of which is hinged a platform, to be let down by pulleys at the top. The top of the tower is conical, with chevaux de frise. Within it are five knights.

On p. 145 is the fort, roughly circular, which they are attacking. It is on a rock with steps leading up to the portcullised gate. It consists of two main stories. Three knights are seen in it, two in the lower story and one at the top.

p. 146. A fort in two stories, attacked by a force. Two scaling ladders are planted against it on L. and R. The knight on the L. one has a mace, and the other a sword. They are engaging two knights, and the one on R. is killing his man. The only other of the besieged, in c., is thrusting down with a spear at an assailant below, who receives it on his shield. Of the other assailants, one on L. is driving in a wedge with a mallet to support the ladder; the other is winding up a cross-bow.

p. 147. A machine for throwing Greek fire: it consists of four arms arranged like the sails of a windmill, revolving on a pivot supported by an upright. It is made to revolve by a rope on a capstan and a counterpoise. This is being worked by a knight on R. In the end of each arm of the machine is a bowl-like receptacle: in three of these is a flaming substance; that in the fourth is being lighted with a torch by a knight on L.

pp. 148, 149 form a single composition—a device for throwing hives of bees into a fortress. On p. 148 is the machine, a

four-sailed windmill on an upright, which has a little shelter on the top with a conical roof. On each sail is placed a beehive. A knight is engaged in placing one on the sail nearest to him on R., and holds a fifth in his L. hand.

On p. 149 we see the result. There is a fort with outer bailey and keep; a knight in the gate with a large shield. Another in the door of the keep, with a cross-bow. A third on L. throwing a stone, a beehive in the air above him and bees about him. On R. a knight with a sling, also attacked by a bee.

p. 150. A fortress of the same type. In it, on R. and L., are two knights, each throwing a stone down on the assailants, of whom there are four. Those on R. and L. are holding their shields over the other two, who are digging (mining the wall) with pickaxes.

p. 151. A single figure—very well drawn—of a knight in large visored helmet aiming to L. a missile from a large cross-bow. The missile appears to consist of a square flat box containing fire, which is to be propelled by a dart behind it.

pp. 152, 153 form a single composition. On p. 152 three knights are about to lower by means of a rope a broad platform consisting of wattle-work with transverse planks at intervals: the lower end rests on two solid wheels. An upright shaft on L. has a pulley at top with a rope running to the upper end of the platform.

On p. 153 is the fort against which the scaling platform is to be placed. It is as usual of two stories. On the wall is a knight with a large axe prepared to smash the platform: in the door of the keep is another with a cross-bow.

pp. 154, 155 form a single composition. On p. 154 is a walled tower, roughly circular, with three main buildings inside it. Above it in the air is a fish-shaped kite, flown horizontally, from which depends by some sort of chain a contrivance which is letting fall a fire-ball. The rope of the kite goes over into p. 155, where it is held, evidently with some exertion, by three knights. On the L. of this page is an upright with a pulley at

the top, under which, perhaps, the rope of the kite should pass ; but it is not in use.

p. 156. A knight on L. is winding up a ballista loaded with a round stone. The head is held back by a rope passing over a pulley on an upright on L. The ballista is on a frame of two uprights, travelling on two solid wheels. The uprights are connected by two horizontal strands of twisted rope in which the lower end of the ballista is inserted ; the upper one of these is being wound up by means of a four-handled capstan.

The picture which has attracted most attention in the Christ Church MS. is naturally that of the cannon on p. 140. This and the corresponding one in the Holkham MS., f. 44^b (the latter, so far as I know, not having been hitherto noticed), rank at present as the earliest extant representations of cannons. They are especially interesting in that they can be dated to a year—1326.

Sir G. F. Warner has kindly procured for me the loan of certain notices relating to the Christ Church picture.

A reproduction of it appeared in the illustrated edition of *Social England* (1902 : vol. ii, p. 246).

In 1905 Hime, in the *Proceedings of the Royal Artillery Institute* (no. 12, vol. xxxi, p. 489), gave an outline illustration, and cited an entry from the first volume of the commercial records of Ghent, in which, after a list of the municipal officers for the year 1313, is this note :

‘Item in dit jaer was aldereest ghevonden in deutschlandt het ghebruik der bussen van eenen mueninck.’

(Item, in this year was first invented in Germany the use of cannon, by a monk.)

The first volume of the commercial records of Ghent has in 1314 several entries of ‘bussen met kruyt’ (cannon with powder) dispatched to England.

The Christ Church cannon, says Hime, is probably one of the very *bussen* which were got from Flanders in 1314.

Oskar Guttmann wrote on the subject in the *Journal of the Chemical Society* (June 15, 1904).

In the *Kynoch Journal* (vol. vii, no. 36, Oct.–Dec. 1906, p. 168) Professor Sir A. G. Greenhill, F.R.S., described the picture. An incendiary arrow is being fired: a flake of red colour, meant to represent the fire on the head of the arrow, has fallen off. The knight holds a cleft stick with a match, and the priming is represented as fired, but the cross feathers of the arrow have not left the muzzle, so no blast of powder is visible.

In 1905 M. Victor v. der Haeghen, the city archivist of Ghent, threw doubt on the genuineness of the document cited by Hime. Sir A. Greenhill had examined, not the original vellum book, but a paper transcript of later date. The celebrated falsifier Delbecq might, it was thought, have had a hand in the fabrication of it.

In the *Kynoch Journal* for Apr.–June, 1907 (vol. viii, no. 38, p. 75), Guttmann again threw doubt on the Ghent note. According to a letter to him from M. Rohren, Chief of the Department of General Archives, it is only in one of the manuscripts, which belonged to M. de S. Genois, that we find in the year 1393 (not 1313) this note :

‘1393. In dit jaer is ghevonden het ghebruick van het buscruit (gunpowder) in Duytslant van eenen mueninck’ (*Memorialbook der stad Gent. 1301–1727*; Gent, Armoort-Braeekman, 1852, pt. i, bl. 126). And, says M. Rohren, ‘with regard to the degree of veracity which can be attributed to the annotations in these manuscripts, which were generally (i.e. for the most part) written in the sixteenth century, it is nearly *nil*, the compilations added after the list (of magistrates, etc.) having a very fantastic character.’

In the same volume (p. 78) Sir A. Greenhill replies to this article and says: ‘I can understand how the celebrated entry of 1313 came to be overlooked, as the Ghent librarian was on the point of shutting up the book after a search under 1393 as well as 1313, when my eye caught a phrase in the middle of

the text, which turned out to be our phrase, *Item in dit jaer*, etc. . . . To settle the matter conclusively, some one else must make an independent examination. The phrase was written in the same hand as the rest of the transcript, and not apart as a separate note.'

I have thought it worth while to give these extracts, though the question of the genuineness of the Ghent entry is not strictly relevant to our subject.

As to the condition and writing of the manuscript, it may be remarked that the writing is uniform throughout, save on pp. 116, 117, where it is possibly by a different hand, and certainly much more contracted. Mistakes are fairly frequent, and have not always been corrected. Some of the corrections may be due to the hand of the author, e. g. the *Dux* and the *nuper* on p. 19. The only noticeable abbreviation is a capital ·N· for *enim*.

The condition is excellent. In six cases (on pp. 28, 53, 85, 92, 99, 118) the (blue) silk guards of the pictures have survived. One leaf (in quire 5) has been lost; as was noted above, it was perhaps purposely removed.

The Holkham Manuscript

THIS manuscript, no. 458 in the library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall, measures $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $6\frac{1}{5}$ (mm. 242 x 160), and contains 76 leaves, with 26 lines of text to a full page.

The binding is of black leather of the end of cent. xvii. The crest of Coke has been stamped upon it at a later date.

It contains the book-plate of 'Cary Coke wife of Edward Coke of Norfolk Esq^{re} 1701'. On the fly-leaf are the names of 'Mr. Wil^m (?) Coke' and 'C. Coke 122'.

The collation is as follows: 1⁶ (wants 6) 2⁸ 3⁸ (wants 1, 6, 7) 4⁸ 5⁸ (wants 4, 5, and 8 (?) cancelled) 6⁸ 7⁸ (wants 2, 7), 8⁸ (wants 6) 9⁸ 10⁸ 11⁸.

Contents:

f. 1^a. Hic incipiunt Rubricae capitulo/rum libri de secretis secretorum/ summi philosophi aristotilis/ ad petitionem et usum illustris/simi regis alexandri editi. De modo se / habendi in regimine suorum et sui ut con/questor fieret orbis universi (*line-filling*). /

Prologus translatoris de lingua arabica / in latinam missus episcopo tropolis ciuitatis /.

Commendatio quedam de moribus philosophi aristotilis (*line-filling*). /

Relatio iohannis translatoris qui trans/tulit librum philosophi aristotilis de lin/gua greca in caldeam et de caldea in arabicam / (f. 1^b) ad preceptum regis arabie, etc.

The chapter-numbers are added in the margin in an old hand, probably of cent. xv, beginning with ix (de regis largitate, etc.). They run to ci. The last are:

De tribus medicinis inestimabilis uirtutis ad regeam dignitatem pertinentibus (lxxxvij).

De prima medicina (lxxxxviiiij).

De secunda medicina (c).

De tertia medicina (ci).

There is room for eight more lines of text on f. 5a: and f. 5b is blank.

(1) f. 6a. *The Prologus translatoris*, beginning :

Domino suo excellentissimo in cultu religionis christiane strenuissimo Guydoni uiro de ualencia ciuitatis tropolis gloriose pontifici Philippus suorum minimus clericorum se ipsum et fidele deuotionis obsequium.

Quantum luna ceteris stellis est lucidior
ending: ad eterna beatitudinis gaudia feliciter peruenire.

(2) 8a. *Commendacio quedam*, etc.

Deus omnipotens custodiat regem nostrum gloriam cre-
dentium . . .

ending: que sibi auderet resistere in facto uel in dicto.

(3) 9a. *Relatio Iohannis translatoris*, etc.

Iohannes qui transtulit librum istum filius patricii . . .

ending: direxit epistolam suam ad aristotilem sub hac forma.

(4) 9b. *Epistola regis Alexandri missa aristotili philosopho.*
Rubrica.

10a. O doctor egregie rector iusticie . . .

ending: nobis significa tuis scriptis.

(5) 10a. *Epistola remissua philosophi Ar. ad reg. Alex.*

Cui aristotiles sic respondit. Si potes mutare ipsam terram . . . pacifice cum triumpho. Alexander igitur accepta sua epistola adimpleuit suum consilium diligenter. Et erant perses magis obedientes suo imperio quam omnes alie nationes.

(6) 10b. *Epistola philosophi Ar. ad Alex. regem magnifi-
cum.*

O Alexander fili gloriosissime.

The text continues with many gaps to 76b, on which is the rubric of chapter 93 (qua hora rex syrupum sanaticum sumere debet), and the text, ending imperfectly: sapiens quidem arist/mones bonum uinum mira(*catch-word*)biliter.

INTRODUCTION

The decoration, which will be described in fuller detail, is incomplete. It runs thus: f. 1*a* has full border and picture; 1*b*-5*a*, full borders; 6*a*, border and picture; 6*b*-18*b*, borders and sixteen pictures; 19, no border, two pictures; 20*a*, border and picture; 20*b*, no border, one picture; 21*a*-25*b*, no borders, seven pictures; 25*b*, unfinished border, one picture; 26 sqq., no borders, two pictures; 28, partial border, one picture; 30*a*, partial border, one picture; 30*b*, one picture; 32*a*, border; 32*b*-39*b*, eleven pictures; 40*b*-44*b*, full borders (only the first finished), three pictures (one finished); 45*b*-67*b*, twenty-five pictures; 68*b*, a pen-sketch of a border; 69-76*b*, ten pictures unfinished.

It is difficult to determine with certainty the number of artists who have been employed on the manuscript. In consultation with Mr. Cockerell I have drawn up the following scheme, which is very much subject to correction :

ff. 1-5	Artist I
6-13	II
14-18	akin to I III
19, 20	IV
21-24	inferior V
25-27	IV
28-31	IV ?
32 <i>a</i>	II ?
32 <i>b</i> -39 <i>b</i>	inferior VI
40-44	I ?
45-52	VI
53-60	IV
61-68	VII ?
69-76	VIII ?

The work of artists I-III can be differentiated by their drawing of the lions in the shields.

Two of these artists (I and III) were, in Mr. Cockerell's opinion, employed on the Christ Church MS. I is identical with artist II of that manuscript: II with artist IV.

The improbability of so many as eight artists having been employed on a single book is at first sight considerable. It should, however, be remembered that, in the first place, the book was in all likelihood made in London, where a large number

of professional illuminators lived; and, in the second place, that the volume was evidently being prepared in great haste. Consequently the work would be given to whoever was available at the moment: and in the end we see that it was offered to the young King before the decoration was nearly finished. A glance at the facsimile of f. 216 will show that some of the illuminators employed were very poor performers. On the other hand, the best work in the Holkham book is quite as good as any in the Christ Church MS.

I now give a detailed description of the decorated pages of the Holkham MS.

f. 1a (facs.). Full solid border: ground mainly gold of rather poor quality. In it, at top, two angels hold shield of England: there is a spot of blue on it, probably a set-off from another painting. In the r. border, besides foliage, are a lion under an oak-tree; a stag seiant by a tree; a long-tailed short-eared reddish beast under a tree, looking round to l.; a warrior under a trefoiled arch, girt with sword, holding spear; in surcoat of England with traces of a label *azure*.

At bottom, two shields: England and England with label of five points *azure* (for the heir-apparent).

The picture, bordered with squares of red and blue, patterned. The ground for the r. two-thirds is lozengy of gold with four-petalled flowers, and fleurs-de-lys seemingly *or* on *azure*. The l. third is plain gold. On l. is a seated bearded king (Alexander) under trefoiled arch, robed in blue over vermillion, holding a sceptre. On r. a seated philosopher (Aristotle) in pink robe over vermillion, bearded, with hand to face, holding a blank scroll. Out of the seat on which he sits rises a desk with curved stem, on which is an open book. Between these two figures, on a lower seat, is a youth in pale blue writing on a scroll on his knee, facing l.

f. 1b. Border: general scheme, bays of pattern with medallions in square framed projections. One of the bays has displayed eagles, *or* on *azure*. The medallions contain cock,

dog, cat, grotesque beasts, four-legged, with beak, etc. The lower border has two shields : L. France ; R. England (dexter) impaled with France.

f. 2a. Narrower border. Bays of pattern with various excrescences.

Shields (blue ground) : England.

f. 2b. Similar border : containing round buds and fleurs-de-lys.

Shields (blue foliage on gold ground : small red lion rampant in c.) : England with label of five points *argent* ; England with bordure *argent*—for Thomas (of Brotherton) Earl of Norfolk, and Thomas (of Woodstock) Earl of Kent, sons of Edward I.

f. 3a. Similar border : shields (gold ground) : England.

f. 3b. Similar border : shields (pink ground : between them a female bust in white in a quatrefoil) : France ; England and France per pale.

f. 4a (facs.). Two monsters at top : six busts in medallions in the border, mainly in white on gold ground. L. from top : 1, with copious hair ; 2, in close cap ; 3, mitred bishop. R. : 1, 2, women ; 3, beardless man.

Shields (blue ground) : England.

f. 4b. Quatrefoils with buds on gold ground.

Shields (gold ground) : England ; England with bordure *argent*.

f. 5a. Birds and fleurs-de-lys in border.

Shields (gold and blue ground) : England ; England with label of five points *azure*.

f. 5b. Blank.

f. 6a (facs.). Side borders of quatrefoils joined by narrow patterned bands. The quatrefoils mostly have gold grounds, and contain beasts, birds, and grotesques. L. from top : 1, monster ; 2, blue dragon ; 3, blue lion. R. : 1, lion seiant ; 2, red dog(?) ; 3, owl ; 4, elephant.

The top border is formed by two monsters playing fiddle and harp.

At bottom: rabbit (l.) looking at red dog (r.) with squirrel-tail. Shields (smaller than on the previous pages) as on 5 *a*.

Picture (*Prologus translatoris*): gold ground with incised flourishing. In the l. third of the space, under trefoiled arch, the Bishop of Tripolis sits facing r. in pale brown chasuble lined with green, over white. He has mitre and crosier, and is beardless. On r. in a square bordered with cusps (blue) is Aristotle, bearded, in a Jew's cap, wearing a blue chasuble over pale brown. He gives a sealed letter to a kneeling messenger on l. in vermillion, who has a javelin.

Initial: Alexander, bearded, with a sceptre tipped with a fleur-de-lys, seated facing r.

f. 6 *b*. Border: monsters at top. Shields: France; England and France impaled.

f. 7 *a*. Border: monsters at top. Shields: England with baton *azure* (for Henry of Lancaster as Earl of Monmouth); England with label of five points *azure* charged with fleurs-de-lys (for the same as Earl of Lancaster).

f. 7 *b*. The upper part of the l. border and the top border are formed by the figure of a trumpeter, in a barred gown of gold and vermillion, standing on a lion and blowing a long trumpet with a banneret of the arms of England with label of five points *azure*.

Shields: England with label of five points *azure*; England bordured *argent*.

f. 8 *a*. At top, monsters fighting: birds in r. border. The borders are narrow and cusped.

Shields: England; England with label of five points *azure*.

Picture (*Commendatio Aristotelis*). Gold frame: ground lozenges with lions' heads in gold on pink, divided by broad gold bars. On l. Aristotle, seated, in blue mantle lined with fur, over vermillion. The book on his desk is inscribed

de	us
re	xs
lor	se

f. 8 b. At top, stag and dog, a gold flower between them. Shields: France; England and France impaled.

f. 9 a (facs.). At top, monsters. In r. border, in a quatrefoil, shield of England with label of five points *azure*. Below, under trefoiled arch, a mailed knight with spear standing on a curled-up lion: he has surcoat of the shield above. The ground is blue, patterned.

Shields: England; England with label of five points *azure*.

Picture (*Relatio Iohannis translatoris*). Alexander seated on l. A messenger in vermilion with javelin kneels in c. facing r. On r. Aristotle holds an open letter with green seal dependent.

f. 9 b. At bottom of l. border in a panel an angel playing a fiddle. On r. a wingless figure with stringed instrument and plectrum. At top, monsters.

Shields: France; England and France impaled.

f. 10 a. Shields: England; England with label (*ut supra*).

Two pictures with gold grounds, patterned:

1. *Epistola regis Alexandri missa Aristotili*. On l. Alexander, seated, holds an open letter. A messenger kneels facing him. Aristotle on r. in blue robe over pink.

2. *Epistola remissuia Aristotilis ad Alex.* Aristotle sits on l. holding open letter: messenger kneels to receive it.

f. 10 b. At top, shield of England with label, in quatrefoil held by two angels.

At bottom, three quatrefoils: 1 (l.), man draws bow; 2, couchant stag; 3, couchant goat.

Shields: England; England with label.

Picture (*Epistola Arist. ad Alex. O alexander fili*). Gold ground, patterned. Alexander seated on l. with sceptre. Messenger with javelin kneels to give him a book bound in green. On the messenger's girdle is a small shield with a label of three points *azure*. Aristotle stands on r.

f. 11 a. At top, a grotesque with two trumpets.

At top of l. border a man with pipe and tabor standing on a grotesque helmeted head.

At bottom: a bust, white on gold, in a quatrefoil.

Shields: England with label of five points *argent*; England bordured *argent*.

f. 11b. At top, two monsters: between them a book, white on gold, in quatrefoil.

Shields: England; England and France impaled.

f. 12a. At top, griffin and red ox: ornament between them. At the sides, square projecting panels with daisy buds and white lion couchant.

Shields: England; England with label.

Picture (*De regibus et eorum prudencis in dominio. Oportet itaque*). Ground, the r. half salmon-colour, the l. half *azure* in squares edged with white dots, a gold quatrefoil in each square. On l. Alexander seated with sceptre, cross-legged, in yellow robe over red. Aristotle on r. speaks: he wears cap and blue robe lined with ermine, over yellow. Trefoiled arch above: frame mainly of gold lozenges.

f. 12b. At top, two dragons. Shields: England with baton *azure*; England with label of five points *azure*, charged with fleurs-de-lys.

f. 13a (facs.). At top, two lions: between them a bust, white on red, in a quatrefoil.

At bottom: a dog and rabbit. Shields: England; England with label.

Picture (*De regibus et modis eorum circa largitatem et avariciam. Reges sunt quattuor*). Ground gold with patterns. Alexander, in yellow robe over red, seated on l. Aristotle speaks: behind him an attendant in red carries two gold cups, one of which has a cover. The forepart of a white ox is seen on r.

f. 13b. At top, two half-length figures support a shield in quatrefoil of England with label. On l. a bust in white on gold in a quatrefoil.

Shields: England with label of five points *argent*; England bordured *argent*. A rabbit in lower border.

f. 14a (facs.). Solid border. The top bar has two half-length angels supporting the shield of the Passion: *sable*, a

cross *vert* with lance per bend sinister: quarterly, 1, ? nails; 2, crown of thorns; 3, reed and sponge; 4, two scourges.

On R. five busts alternating with square panels of ornament.

At bottom, in c., a mitred grotesque. Shields: France; England and France impaled.

f. 14 b (facs.). At top, pink lion and red ox. The border on L. and at bottom is solid. On L. on gold ground, on a level with the picture in the text, is Aristotle seated under trefoiled arch, facing R.

Below, a spotted wolf (?) biting his own leg. A bust, white on gold, in quatrefoil.

On R. two quatrefoils with four leopards' heads *or* on *gules*.

At bottom, in c. under trefoiled arch, on gold ground, a mailed knight girt with sword and holding spear, in surcoat of England.

Shields: England; England with label.

Picture (*De finali intentione quam debet rex habere, et eo quod finaliter appetendum est in regimine*). Gold ground, patterned. Alexander sits on L. An angel in white by him plucks his robe and draws his attention to three mailed knights, the foremost of whom, in red surcoat, speaks: no. 2 has blue surcoat with gold lion: no. 3, red surcoat: 2 and 3 are girt with swords.

f. 15 a. At top, two monsters. Shields: both England. Between them four lions' masks *or* on *azure*.

f. 15 b (facs.). At top, a pink lion and a red spotted beast. In c. a Paschal Lamb and flag in white on gold, in a quatrefoil.

On L. on gold ground under trefoiled arch a mailed youth in surcoat of England with a hawk on his L. hand, which feeds from his R. hand.

Shields: both England: between them a brown wolf (?) facing L.

Picture (*De malis que sequuntur ex carnali regis appetitu*). Gold ground patterned, under three trefoiled arches. On L. Aristotle, facing R., speaks. Alexander seated facing R. A

crowned queen in blue robe over red, attended by a small girl in red, speaks to him. On r. a crowned prince, beardless, in dull pink over dull blue robe, speaks.

f. 16a (facs.). At top, two figures support a quatrefoil with four leopards' or lions' masks on gold. On r., low down, a knight in surcoat of England, with sword and spear, on gold ground under trefoiled arch, below which is a base formed of three female figures. On l. are three lions' heads in quatrefoils.

Shields: England; England with label: between them a creature with four legs and three faces blowing two trumpets.

Picture (*De finali intentione quam debent quantum ad se reges habere*). Ground: lozenges of pink and blue, with a gold fleur-de-lys in each, separated by gold bars. On l. Alexander sits cross-legged: two messengers with javelins kneel. On r. Aristotle seated.

f. 16b (facs.). At top, two figures (one an angel) with guitar and fiddle. On l. bust of a praying man, in a lozenge.

Shields: England; England with label: between them a mermaid holding two fishes.

Picture (*De regis religione*). Gold ground, patterned. In a mandorla, cusped within, and of a bluish colour, supported by two half-length angels at the sides, is Christ seated blessing, holding the tripartite globe. At bottom on l. kneels a beardless king, crowned, in surcoat of England: on r. a crowned queen in red over blue. Facing the king sits the nimbed lion of St. Mark, winged: facing the queen, St. Luke's white ox. The man and eagle are not figured.

f. 17a. At top, two monsters, one with the bearded head of an old man. On r. a knight in red surcoat. Shields: England; England with baton *azure*: between them a monster.

Pictures. *De regis sapiencia*. Ground chequer of blue, patterned, and gold. King seated on l.: facing him, two bishops, then two warriors, and then a philosopher.

De regis prouidencia. Ground a larger chequer of gold and blue with silver stars. At l. a king sits with hand to face:

two warriors with spears kneel. On r. sits Aristotle with hand to face and book on desk.

f. 17 b (facs.). At top, two monsters support a chess-board with four rows of four squares coloured red and green.

white pawn		white pawn	
	white castle	yellow knight	
white knight	yellow knight	white castle	yellow pawn
	white pawn	yellow ?	

Shields : England; England with label : between them a stag couchant.

c. 16. Picture (*De regis ornamento*). Gold ground. The King sits on l. Three knights kneel to him, each with a piece of vair over his arm. Behind are two uprights supporting two rows of pieces or garments of vair, in red and pink.

f. 18 a. At top, two monsters : that on l. plays with a stick on a basin (?) balanced on a stick : the other has a harp. On r. a monster in a panel.

Shields as f. 17 b.

c. 21. Picture (*De regis castitate*). Ground a chequer of gold and dark red with pattern. On l. Aristotle stands speaking, and holds the hand of the King, seated full-face in c. in yellow robe lined with vair over vermillion. On r. are three girls.

f. 18 b (facs.). At top, two monsters : that on l. has an organ with silver pipes ; the blower's head is seen : the other has a fiddle : between them the arms of England in quatrefoil.

Shields as f. 17 b : bust in quatrefoil in c.

c. 22. Picture (*De regis solacio*). Ground chequer half red and gold, half blue and gold. The King seated. Two

beardless men sit by him on L. On R. four musicians: 1 stands with pipe and tabor; 2 sits playing a harp; 3 and 4 stand blowing long trumpets with bannerets of the arms of England.

c. 23. f. 19a. No border. Picture (*De regis curialitate*). Ground chequer of red, patterned, and gold. The King throned in c. Two courtiers stand on each side of him (four in all). In front, on L. kneel two men, on R. one: all are beardless except the King.

The hair is coloured: the shading of drapery delicate: two blues, two reds, and a pink are used.

c. 24. f. 19b (facs.). Picture (*De regis vigore et continencia*). Gold ground, dotted. The King throned in c. On L. stand two bishops in mitres and copes. On R. two beardless courtiers. On L., by the bishops, are an eagle and a lion sitting on the ground.

f. 20a (facs.). Border unfinished. Some panels of ornament are done; in others, the ground only is coloured, and lines have been badly drawn on it by a later hand.

At top, a monster fights a dragon. On R. is a panel with a knight: his shield is *gules*, a bordure *sable* engrailed, and a cross of the second.

Shields: one is left blank; *fleurs-de-lys* have been scribbled on it in ink: the other plain *gules* with traces of a quarterly division.

At the bottom of this page is an original note: 'in hiis duobus xix.'

c. 25. Picture (*De regis subiectione*). Gold ground. A beardless king throned in c. On L. two bishops supplicate him: on R. two courtiers speak: a small youth in the foreground in blue.

c. 26. f. 20b. Picture (*De regis similitudine*). Ground lozengy of gold and *azure* with *fleurs-de-lys* *argent*. The King throned on L. Aristotle, in pink, on R., speaks, and points upward to a blue-grey cloud which runs along the top.

c. 27. f. 21b (facs.). Picture (*De regis misericordia*). An inferior artist who has no skill in outline: his colours are

bright and light : he employs a bad violet. The eyes of his figures are beady. Ground on L. gold, on R. blue with white pattern. The King sits on R. Aristotle in black cap presents a kneeling figure in brown.

c. 28. f. 22a. Picture (*De regis prouidencia ante aduentum caristie*). Gold ground, patterned. The King sits on R. Aristotle in c. On L. a building: in the door is seen a man emptying a sack into a barrel.

c. 29. f. 22b. Picture (*De regis pietate*). Ground on L. gold, on R. blue, with white fleurs-de-lys. The King, seated on R., bends towards a bearded kneeling man in brown presented by Aristotle in dark blue and scarlet.

c. 30. f. 23a. Picture (*De regis memoria*). Ground gold, and red with white pattern. The King sits on L. Aristotle speaks on L.

c. 31. f. 23b. Picture (*De regis iuramento et fide seruanda*). Ground as f. 22b. King sits on R. Aristotle takes his hand : another philosopher on L.

c. 32. f. 24b. Picture (*De regis constancia*). Gold ground with lines. The king stands on R. with sceptre. Aristotle speaks.

c. 33. f. 25a. Picture (*De studio per regem promouendo*). By the fourth artist. Gold ground with lines. The King throned in c., Aristotle stands on L. On R. four beardless youths kneel, each holding an open book.

f. 25b (facsimiles). Border unfinished. Only the middle of the lower portion is completed ; the shields are left blank. In the L. border one figure (of a king?) is sketched. There are monsters at the top,

c. 34. Picture (*De regis confidencia in muliere non ponenda*). Gold ground, dotted. Aristotle on L., warning the King, who stands next. A crowned queen speaks to him: two youths and two women attend her on R.

c. 35. f. 26a. Picture (*De dolo mulieris a rege cauendo*). Gold ground. On L. Aristotle sits by the throned King. On R. two men kneel, holding up covered cups. Above them a man and woman speaking.

c. 36. f. 26b. Picture (*De descripcione mulieris quam decet regem accipere in uxorem*). Gold ground, dotted. The King sits on L., Aristotle stands by him. A lady in pink with red head-dress is introduced by two bishops and two other men.

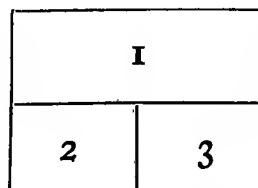
f. 28a (facs.). Partial border of ornament.

c. 37. Picture (*De regali iusticia omnibus tribuenda et eius effectu*). Gold ground. The King in purple robe on a chair on L. Aristotle in c. speaks. Behind him to R. are knights in mail and blue and pink surcoats: each has a sword.

After f. 29 is a gap.

c. 41. f. 30a. Picture (*Quod habeat rex quinque consiliarios circa se fideles, etc.*). Aristotle on L. Then the King throned in purple robe with green lining over dark red: he has a sceptre; his hand is raised, his legs crossed. Then two bishops with crosiers, one pointing to three men on R. in plain robes.

c. 42. f. 31b (facs.). Partial border. Picture (*Quod rex potest cognoscere naturalem inclinacionem generati per horam et constellationem geniti*). In three compartments:



1. Gold ground, dotted. The King throned, full face, between two standing philosophers, each of whom points up to a band of cloud above, in which are seven flaming stars (planets).

2. A queen reclining holds a swaddled child; a nurse at her feet on R. Curtains.

3. A woman reclining holds a swaddled child. In front a ladder, vertical. A humble cottage is indicated.

f. 32a. Border perhaps by the first hand. It has panels of lions and fleurs-de-lys on red and blue. Monsters at top. Shields of England and France hung on hooks.

c. 43. f. 32b. One of the worse artists. Picture (*Quod*

rex neminem debet contempnere, et quem consiliarium habeat iuxta se). On L. three knights in blue armour. In c. the King. On R. a kneeling man presented by Aristotle.

c. 44. f. 33 a. Picture (*Quod rex nichil agat sine consilio, etc.*). Two courtiers on L. The King seated. Three kneeling knights. Aristotle and another standing.

c. 45. f. 33 b. Picture (*Quod rex in negotiis etc. querat consilium*). The King sits in c. On L. three bishops: on R. two courtiers.

c. 46. f. 34 a. Picture (*Quod rex quando absentat se a regno non constituant solum unum in suo loco*). The King in blue armour, crowned, on a blue horse, attended by four knights, hands a letter with seal dependent to a bishop and a man in blue on R.

c. 47. f. 34 b. Picture (*Quod rex ad minus habeat tres secretarios, etc.*). The King stands in c. Two bishops on L., one man on R. On R., outside the picture, are two smaller men: all beardless.

c. 48. f. 35 a. Picture (*Qualiter rex debet temptare et probare suos consiliarios*). The King seated in c. On R. a bishop and a youth: on L. a bishop and Aristotle.

c. 49. f. 35 b. Picture (*De xv signis et uirtutibus, etc.*). The King seated in c. On L. three kneel: on R. three kneel.

c. 50. f. 37 a. Picture (*Quod rex debeat scrutari quomodo mores hominum conueniant omni generi animalium, etc.*). The King sits on L. with hand to face. Aristotle stands on R., pointing down at a lion and a hare.

c. 51. f. 37 b. Picture (*Quod rex non confidat in homine qui non est legis sue*). The King sits on L. Aristotle stands on R.

c. 52. f. 39 b. Picture (*Cuiusmodi conditionis debent esse qui debent secreta regis scribere*). In a panel in the margin Aristotle sits, and a youth kneels. In the picture the King sits on L., Aristotle stands on R. Between them sit three youths, tonsured, each writing on a scroll on his knee: *Edwardus dei*.

f. 40 b. By the first hand. Solid border in panels. At top, two spotted dogs, a rabbit on L. The picture extends into the

L. border. Below this are two knights in yellow and green surcoats respectively, girt with swords, holding spears: the upper one on red ground with white dots, the lower on blue ground with white fleurs-de-lys. At bottom, on L. a horseman with horn: a man shooting an arrow at a stag beside which is a hound: two trees. On R. panels with gold lozenges, stars, lion rampant, and pattern.

c. 53. Picture (*Qualis debet esse nuncius regis in negotiis mittendus*). In c. the King, on red-brown horse, crowned, in pink over scarlet, facing R., holds out a letter with green seal. On R. a mailed knight in vermillion surcoat on a horse with vermillion bearings holds out his R. hand. On L., behind the King, three knights on horses, in green, vermillion, and blue surcoats. The ground in c. is gold: on L. blue with white pattern: on R. blue with white network and pattern.

After f. 40 is a gap.

f. 41a (facsimiles). Solid frame in panels: the painting unfinished. At top and on L., helmeted busts: on R. three knights in panels. At bottom, a procession emerging from a gateway on L., headed by two men blowing horns: one has a bow, the other has a stick on his shoulder, and a hare hung on it: two dogs run beside them. The next two carry flagons and metal dishes: 5, 6, 7 have staves slanted over their shoulders. The figures are mostly left white: plain gold and plain grounds of red and blue are put in.

f. 41b. Frame, unfinished. At top, two dogs. On L. four knights: on R. small panels, in some of which are gold studs. At bottom, nine horsemen ride to R., followed by a man on foot.

c. 55. Picture (*De regis ordinatione procerum et capitaneorum in bello*, etc.). The King seated on L., cross-legged. A group of ten knights stands before him. The surcoat of one is coloured pink. The ground is gold.

f. 42a. Frame, as before. At top, two monsters. On L. two helmeted busts. On R. four knights facing L., each with bannered spear on shoulder, and girt with sword. At bottom, a row

of six similar knights, all facing R. All the banners are plain gold.

f. 42δ (facs.). Frame with less colour. At top a dog (?) and couchant stag. On R. unfinished ornament.

At bottom, two groups, each of three men, facing L., kneeling and blowing bellows (six pairs), the nozzles of which are inserted respectively into a base and a sort of wall decorated with quatrefoils. The L. border consists of a plain column, divided by projecting bands into four sections. At top is a shallow basin, meant, I think, for a trumpet mouth. These men are in fact blowing a colossal trumpet. The text says : ‘Et oportet te tecum habere illud instrumentum quod themistius <fecit> ad opus excercitus ad uocandum exercitum. Et est instrumentum terribile quod dicitur multis modis. Quia forte oporteret te uisitare prouinciam tuam et regnum tuum congregare subito proceresque tuos bellatores in eadem die uel cicius uel alio modo prout indiget exercitus magnus et numerosus. Huius instrumenti sonus auditur per .lx. miliaria.’

The true reading, in which the half-dozen of manuscripts which I have examined agree, is *diuiditur* (*multis modis*), instead of *dicitur*.

This portentous instrument is not mentioned, as far as I can discover, in any document older than the *Secreta*. It attracted the attention of the polymath Athanasius Kircher, who in two of his surprising works gives representations of it, copied from a Vatican manuscript which he calls ‘antiquissimus’, and which apparently contained the text of the Pseudo-Aristotle and something in the nature of a comment upon it. The first work in which Kircher mentions it is the *Ars magna lucis et umbrae* (Lib. II, pt. I, cap. 7: p. 102 in the Amsterdam edition of 1671), where a woodcut is given and the source mentioned. The other is the *Phonurgia nova* (Campidonae—Kempten—1674, p. 132). Here he says, ‘Aguntur iam complura lustra quibus in Bibliotheca Vaticana . . . inciderem in librum cui titulus erat *Secreta Aristotelis ad Alexandrum Magnum*, ubi inter caetera de cornu prodigioso Alexandri Magni haec

leguntur: Faciebat hoc cornu adeo vehementem sonum ut eo exercitum suum ad centum stadia (quorum octo unum milliare Italicum conficiunt) dispersum convocare perhibeatur. Habant autem, ut libellus monstrat, quinque cubitos in diametro, et fulcri suspendebatur annulo, uti ego reor, cuius tamen figuram non describit. Figuram hic appono, prout in dicto libro impressam reperi, cum Epigraphe: *Cornu Alexandri Magni.*

The woodcut (in both books) shows the horn in the form of a ring, with mouthpiece and mouth on opposite sides of the circumference. The ring is thickest at the mouth and slenderest at the mouthpiece. In the *Phonurgia* a page of engravings follows, showing three designs by Kircher of the way in which he thought the horn might have been used, and what form it ought to have in order to produce the greatest body of sound. He gives first the form shown in the woodcut, suspended from a triangle of beams, and a soldier blowing into it; then a horn of ordinary form, but with a spiral body; and lastly, the horn in a ring-form, but again spirally twisted.

Something in the nature of a clue to Kircher's source is furnished by the as yet unprinted notes of Roger Bacon upon the *Secreta*. I have examined the two Cambridge manuscripts of this text (Trinity Coll. O. 1. 12, and Fitzwilliam McClean 153), and give the resultant text. It should be premised that Bacon's work consisted in the insertion of interlinear readings from other copies (he tells us he had collated four), and the addition of explanatory notes. In his numbering the passage is at the end of cap. 18 of Part III of the whole work.

de instrumento bellico exercitum coadunante et de forma eiusdem
 Et oportet te tecum habere illud instrumentum
 instrumenti
 quod fecit temistius ad opus exercitus ad nocendum (!),
 bene dico oportet te habere illud
 et est instrumentum terribile quod diuiditur multis modis:
 instrumentum quia forte
 quia forte oportebit te vocare totam prouinciam tuam et
 regnum tuum et congregare subito proceres tuos bellatores

tuos in eadem die uel cicius uel aliquo modo prout indiget exercitus magnus et numerosus: nam huius instrumenti sonus auditur per millaria sexaginta [*at this point follows Bacon's comment, as I suppose*]. Hoc est cornu eneum artificio mirabili fabricatum, quo ex .lx. milliariis tempore belli suum exercitum conuocabat: et regebatur cornu lx hominibus propter sui magnitudinem et inestimabile artificium: et verisimile est quod multa metallorum resonantium genera in eius composicione concurrebant, et hec forma cornu.

No picture or space for a picture follows,¹ but the title of cap. 19. However, a figure was clearly intended, and it is probable that the Vatican MS. seen by Kircher was a copy of the Bacon text, more complete than ours.

The objections to this view are (1) that Kircher's source gave the dimensions of the horn as five cubits in diameter, which Bacon does not: but the dimensions may have been merely written on the figure. (2) That Kircher uses the word 'impressam', suggesting a printed book. On the other hand, in the *Ars Magna* he calls his source 'Codex antiquissimus'. (3) That Kircher appears to quote a comment from his authority, of which the wording differs from Bacon's: but, as he admits, many years had passed since he had seen the manuscript.

The mediaeval versions that I have seen throw no light on the horn. Some (as Lydgate) omit the passage, others give it quite literally. The rendering of a fifteenth-century translator is worth quoting as a curiosity (Steele, p. 109): 'And it nedys that thou haue with the the Instrument that Cenustinus made to the use of the Hoste: and it ys a dispytous Instrument that outspredys it in many maners . . . the sounde of the Instrument ys herd sextye mylee.' James Yonge, the Anglo-Irish paraphrast of the *Secreta*, abridges the passage and reduces the range of the horn to 'sixe myle fere' (l. c. p. 215).

¹ I am informed by Mr. Craster that this is also the case in the Bodleian MS. Tanner 116, of which the Cambridge MSS. are probably copies.

f. 43a. Frame. At top, helmeted busts: on r. three knights with bannered spears facing r.: on l. lions' heads. At bottom, on r., a knight on foot with bannered spear. The King on horseback with attendant knight: then the King (in armour) on foot with attendant knight.

c. 56. Picture (*De regis perseverancia et cautela in prelio*, etc.). The King sits in c. On l. three councillors, one, or two, of whom are bishops. On r. four knights.

f. 43b (facs.). Frame. At top, monsters and busts: on l. four knights drawing bows, facing r. On r. small panels with gold chevrons, lion, etc. At bottom the c. and r. are occupied by a ballista. On l. stand four knights; three hold spears, the fourth pulls the cords to release the catch of the ballista. The text says: 'Et multiplica machinas disurrentes.'

f. 44a (facs.). The groundwork of the frame represents masonry: the greater part is in outline. At top are busts with intervals of masonry and battlements. On l. are, first two knights, then two together, with sword and spear, seen half-length behind battlements. On r. the like, with three knights instead of two in the lowest section. At bottom, three bays of battlemented wall with three soldiers at top of each. Arrows come out of loopholes. In c. a gate with portcullis (on gold ground).

f. 44b (facs.). Frame partly coloured. At top monsters. On r. small panels of colour and gold. On l. four knights facing r.; each is girt with sword and has a hand raised. At bottom, on l., a row of four knights firing off a cannon. The cannon, which may have been coloured silver, and is now dark, is of the same form as that in the Christ Church MS. It lies on a massive table (apparently a stone slab on a red and blue base), mouth to r., and is to fire a dart with a long head. The touch-hole is at the l. end in a line with the mouth. Of the knights, the first two (from r.) appear to have been drawn at first holding spears (as on f. 43b), but their attitude has been changed so that they now hold up their hands to shield their faces. The third knight shields his face with his r. hand, and

with the L. pushes a straight rod into the touch-hole of the cannon. The fourth shields his face with his L. hand.

I cannot see that the dart is ignited.

The text says: 'Si uero debes impugnare incastratos, utere instrumentis procientibus lapides, utpote machinis, et multiplica ea iuxta modum instantis necessitatis ad hoc.'

c. 58. f. 45b. Inferior artist. Picture (*De lapidibus preciosis et herbis uirtuosis*, etc.). The King stands on L. Aristotle on R. points at a mound of grass in c. on which are flowers and coloured stones.

c. 59. f. 46a. Partial border. Picture (*De lapide iuuante regem in bello ad uictoriam*). The King sits on L., Aristotle in c. On R. a man in blue hood over scarlet chops with a hatchet: five fragments of the stone are in the air.

c. 60. f. 47a. Picture (*De lapide precioso secundum opinionem hermogenis philosophi*). The King sits on L., Aristotle on R. On the seat between them is a spotted pink stone: behind this are six gold pieces in two rows.

c. 61. f. 47b. Picture (*De lapide mirabilis uirtutis pugnatiue*). The King sits on L., Aristotle stands in c. On R. an attendant holds a boy. In front is water in green and white waves: in it are three pieces of stone.

c. 62. f. 48a. Picture (*De duobus lapidibus contrarios effectus agentibus ad terrorem hostium*). The King sits on L. Aristotle in scarlet faces R. On R. a man holds two white horses (the fore-quarters only seen). Below their heads are two stones, white and red. The red makes them neigh continuously, the white prevents them from neighing at all.

c. 63. f. 49a. Picture (*De plantis et earum uirtutibus que ad regem pertinent*). The King sits on L. Aristotle standing points to four trees on R., and four flaming stars in the air.

c. 65. f. 51b. Picture (*De regis mundicia et eius consilio ab astronomis sumendo*). The King sits on L. Aristotle in scarlet sits on R., and points up to a Ptolemaic sphere (five concentric bands and a white centre) supported by a half-length angel on R.

c. 66. f. 53 a. A better artist. Picture (*De regis confidencia tantum in uno medico non ponenda*). The King seated. Aristotle on L., seated close by him, lays his r. hand on his shoulder, and points to two doctors on R. in purple and yellow-brown, each of whom holds up the usual vessel.

c. 67. f. 53 b (facs.). Picture (*Quod rex non assumat medicinam nec sanguinem minuat sine consilio astronomi*). The King sits full face in c. On L. a doctor in blue holds a case of knives; a second on L. holds up a cupping-glass (?). On R. an astrologer holds up a red armillary sphere and looks up to a cloud in which are a gold sun and moon.

c. 68. f. 54 b. Picture (*De tempore conuenienti medicine laxative per regem sumende*). The King sits on L. A cloud above, with gold moon. On R. stand four doctors, one holding a gold casket, another a green herb.

c. 69. f. 55 a. Picture (*De consideratione medici ad dandum medicinam regi*). The King sits on L. Cloud and moon above. Three doctors on R., one holding gloves.

c. 70. f. 55 b. Picture (*De regis sanitatem conseruanda ut nullo indigeat medico*). The King on L., and points to L. Four doctors: one holds up an open book, another holds gloves.

c. 71. f. 56 b. Picture (*De causis (causis ?) quibus per regem usitatis regis sanitatis conseruatur*). The King sits on L.: a group of five doctors on R.

c. 72. f. 57 b. Picture (*De cibis regi conuenientibus ad conseruandam sanitatem*). The King sits on L. A kneeling man presents a silver bowl with a fish in it, and a silver plate or cover: two doctors stand by.

c. 73. f. 59 a. Picture (*De hiis quibus rex ante prandium uti debet ut sanitatem conseruet*). The King stands on L. and points to R. Three attendants: one kneels with silver basin and ewer, the next stands with a towel, the third holds up a covered silver dish. On R. is a vertical band of ornament, of which the meaning is obscure to me.

c. 74. f. 60 b (facs.). Picture (*Quod rex se habeat moderate in prandio et quem cibum debet preponere alio*). In two com-

partments (horizontal). Below: the King at table alone, in c, full face. Three attendants in brown kneel on this side of the table. The one on L. cuts something with a knife, the next holds a silver dish and raises the cover, the third holds up a silver flagon. On the table are a gold ship on four legs and a gold covered cup. Above: the King rides to R. on a white horse. Beside him and behind him ride two men in hoods.

c. 75. f. 61b. Inferior artist. Picture (*De modo regis dormiendi post cibum receptum*). The King in bed, head to L., the quilt of various colours (blue and pink). Aristotle stands in c. on the other side of the bed. On R. two knights in blue armour: one has a scarlet mace.

c. 76. f. 62a. Picture (*Quod regis dormicio ante prandium non fiat*, etc.). A table in front. Two attendants kneel before it, one with gold cup: on the table are four small objects (?loaves). Behind it stand the King (L.), Aristotle, and two men.

c. 77. f. 63a. Picture (*De regis consuetudine comedendi obseruanda*). Table in front. Two attendants; one stands with candle (?), one kneels. Cup, dish, and loaf on the table. Behind it, two men, the King seated, Aristotle, and a youth.

c. 78. f. 63b (fac.s.). Picture (*Quod rex cum habeat appetitum comedendi statim comedat*). The King stands on L. washing his hands: one attendant holds a blue basin, another pours from a blue ewer. Another on R. On L., outside the picture, under a trefoiled arch (scarlet) an attendant arranges the table, which has a pinkish cloth.

c. 79. f. 64a. Picture (*De quatuor temporibus anni et primo de uere*, etc.). The King stands on R., Aristotle by him: then three boys, each holding a basket containing birds: two goats on L., outside the picture.

c. 80. f. 65a. Picture (*De estate . . . et que cibaria*, etc.). The King and Aristotle on R. On L. a goose, and two goslings by a green mound. A man with a basket of birds.

c. 81. f. 66a. Picture (*De autumpno*, etc.). Similar. The

King and Aristotle on R. A swan, a peacock, a pig (?), on grass. A man with a basket of birds.

c. 82. f. 66b. Picture (*De yeme*, etc.). The King and Aristotle with book on R. Two boys hold gold covered cups.

c. 83. f. 67b. Picture (*De hiis que corpus regis impinguant*, etc.). On R. Aristotle seated. Then the King taking something out of a gold dish held by a kneeling attendant. Next a bishop, then two knights. Outside the picture, on L., four youths sit on the ground: one of them plays a fiddle.

f. 68b. The beginning of a border, outlined in ink.

f. 69a (facs.). A fresh and better artist comes in here: he gives the King a long curly beard. Figures in outline only, and gold and pink grounds inserted: the frame of the picture is unfinished.

c. 84. Picture (*De cognitione quatuor membrorum principium . . . et primo de infirmitate capitis*, etc.). The King throned on R. with hand to head. Aristotle and an attendant in tunic on L.

c. 85. f. 69b. Picture (*De infirmitate pectoris*, etc.). The King throned on R., cross-legged, with sword. Aristotle and another (or two doctors) on L.

c. 86. f. 70a. Picture (*De infirmitate oculorum*, etc.). A similar picture. The attitudes varied.

c. 87. f. 71b. Picture (*De infirmitate membra secreti*, etc.). Similar; the philosopher or doctor holds the hand of a youth on L.

c. 88. f. 72a. Picture (*De hiis quibus rex uti debet ut diuersas infirmitates evitetur*). The King in c., Aristotle on R. Three doctors on L., one with a covered cup.

c. 89. f. 72b. Picture (*De his per que principaliter regis sanitas conseruatur*). The King sits on R., cross-legged. Aristotle stands on L.

c. 90. f. 73a (facs.). Picture (*De diuersis generibus ciborum*, etc.). The King on R. at table holding a knife: two dishes with a lamb and a fowl on the table: also bread and a two-handled bottle. The philosopher with a book, and another, on L.

c. 91. f. 74a. Picture (*De diuersitate aquarum*). The King sits in c. On r. an attendant with ewer: water below. Aristotle stands on l.

c. 92. f. 75a. Picture (*De diuersis generibus uini*, etc.). The King sits on r. Aristotle holding a cup, and another, on l.

c. 93. f. 76b. Picture (*Qua hora rex syrupum sanarium sumere debet*). Damaged by rubbing. The King sits on r., drinking from a cup. Aristotle and another on l.

I find little to remark upon as to the writing of the manuscript, which seems to me to be all by one scribe. The condition is not very good. Several leaves are lost; the first page and the last have been rubbed and soiled: probably for some time the volume went without a cover.

Until its appearance side by side with its sister of Christ Church, at the Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of illuminated manuscripts in 1908, I do not know that it had ever been noticed in print, except in M. Léon Dorez's splendid publication, *Les Manuscrits à Peintures de la Bibliothèque de Lord Leicester* (1908), in which pl. 29 is devoted to the illustration of ff. 6a, 18b, and pp. 43-4 to the description.

The Secreta Secretorum

It would require more knowledge than I can claim to give anything like an adequate account of the *Secreta Secretorum*. There is no critical edition, either of the original Arabic text, or of the Latin translations: and a very extensive research must be undertaken by any one who intends to produce such a thing. The present—or a recent—state of knowledge is conveniently set forth by Mr. Robert Steele in the preface to his edition of Lydgate and Burgh's metrical version (*Secrees of old Philosoffres*,

E.E.T.S., Extra Series lxvi, 1894). Fuller expositions may be found in the valuable articles by Knust and Steinschneider (the latter supplementary to the former) in the extinct *Jahrbücher f. röm. u. engl. Litteratur*, vols. x and xii.

The briefest summary of the history must suffice here.

The book professes to have been found in the Temple of the Sun by Jahja ibn al Batrik (Johannes filius Patricii), who translated it out of Greek into Chaldee, and thence into Arabic. He is supposed to have lived in cent. viii-ix, and may perhaps have been the author of the whole treatise.

No Greek text is known, but we have the Arabic. This—or rather a very small portion of it, dealing mainly with the rules of health—was first translated into Latin in the twelfth century by John of Seville (Johannes Hispalensis, John Avendeath) for a queen of Spain. This version has, I think, never been printed.

A second and complete Latin version appeared—perhaps early in the thirteenth century—made by a cleric Philip, and dedicated to Guido de Valentia, bishop of Tripoli, whose date and individuality are obscure. It was in this form that the book was known to the men of the Middle Ages. Versions of it in almost every European language exist. It seems to have enjoyed special popularity in England, judging by the number of English manuscripts of the Latin text, and the multiplicity of English versions. Mr. Steele has edited four of these—three in prose and one in verse—and others are known to exist. Roger Bacon wrote comments on the book before the middle of the thirteenth century, and Michael Scot, who died before 1235, quotes it. Gower and Hoccleve make use of it in the *Confessio Amantis* and the *Regement of Princes*. Its influence upon continental literature has also been considerable. How much has been derived from it by the writers of the many treatises upon the duties of kings or the training of princes has yet to be shown in detail. It is in this influence that the chief interest of the book consists; considered as a literary composition, or as a repository of useful knowledge, it has not much to recommend it.

Heraldry

The following notes upon the Heraldry of the Christ Church MS., most kindly contributed by Mr. A. Van de Put, of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, will be found to add greatly to the interest of the reproduction. It is no small thing to have secured the co-operation of so great an authority upon heraldic history as Mr. Van de Put.

It will be seen that there is (as might perhaps have been anticipated) a lack of method in the disposition of the coats; and a good many of them appear to be purely imaginary. The question of the date of the manuscript is complicated rather than cleared up by them: and the possibility of subsequent alterations—additions of labels, and in one case (p. 90) the addition of a whole shield—is suggested. My examination of the manuscript furnished me with no certain indication of this: but the possibility must be kept in mind.

As to the date of the book, some remarks of Mr. Van de Put in a letter to me may be quoted:

‘I quite concur that Edward III is the King of the book *as it stands*: on pp. 16, 17 is an Edward whose style fits any of the Angevin house from Henry III to about 1340; but cannot help feeling that the bulk of the book was planned out *regnante Edwardo II*. We have, over and over again, the arms of England a label of five azure, the insignia of the heir-apparent—non-existent in 1326–7, after Edward III’s accession. Also, the continual grouping of the arms of a king and of Queen Isabella; I do not feel altogether satisfied that we have not, here, the arms of husband and wife rather than of son and mother—great as was Isabella’s influence in 1326–7. In the large miniature depicting them seated, have we not Edward II and his consort? The opening quire with the portrait of the King as frontispiece, can it not have been added upon Edward III’s accession? . . . All through I have been certain that the armorial incidence of the work fell to Edward II.’

The heraldry of the Holkham book (which, as we have seen, is spoken of by Milemete in terms which suggest that it had

been already sent to Edward) is confined to royal shields in the borders, viz.:

I.	England. Gules three leopards in pale or	29 times or more
II.	Heir-apparent. England a label of five points azure	18 times
III.	England and France ancient dimidiated	7 times
IV.	France	7 times
V.	Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent. England a bordure argent	5 times
VI.	Henry of Lancaster, Lord of Monmouth. England a baton azure	3 times
VII.	Henry of Lancaster, as Earl of Lancaster. England a label of France of five points	twice
VIII.	Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk. England a label of five points argent	3 times

I and II usually occur together, so also III and IV. V and VIII occur together, and VI and VII.

A List of Royal Arms in the Borders¹ of 'De Officiis Regum'.

- I. Edward III, King of England: *Gules three leopards in pale or* (p. 2).
- II.² The same, another coat: *England quartering France ancient* (p. 90).
- III. The same (?), heir-apparent: *England a label of five points³ azure* (p. 3).
- IV. Isabella of France, queen-consort of Edward II: *England and France ancient dimidiated* (p. 8).⁴
- V. The King of France: *Azure semy of fleurs-de-lys or* (p. 14).

¹ i.e. the lower borders, and the border p. 37; the first occurrence only of each coat is indicated here.

² On this Mr. Van de Put notes in a letter to me: 'This I take to be a version of the arms adopted by Edward III in 1340, and consequently an addition.' He also remarks, as to the labels: 'Can all the labels of five points azure, forming the coat of the *heir-apparent*, have been in the original scheme? These labels are differently designed to other labels throughout: and in some cases the colour appears to have "run" or blotted, as though superimposed upon the original coat itself.'

³ Labels are of five points throughout.

⁴ These arms exemplify the Queen; but her exacter insignia included at least the Navarrese chains, in right of her mother, Johanna, heiress of the kings of Navarre of the house of Champagne. Margaret (d. 1318), daughter of Philip III of France, bore also, as Edward I's second consort, *England and France ancient dimidiated*.

- VI. Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk: *England a label of five points argent* (p. 12).
- VII. Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent: *England a bordure argent* (p. 12).
- VIII. John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall: *England a bordure of France* (p. 37).
- IX. Henry of Lancaster, Lord of Monmouth: *England a baton azure* (p. 22).
- X. The same; the Earl of Lancaster's coat: *England a label of France of five points* (p. 22).

The above arms occur, in the various combinations, and to the number of times, as follows:

- I. England (a coat), 2: pp. 27, 63.
- I. England (two coats), 4: pp. 2, 58, 68, 105.
- II. England quartering France; England, 1: p. 90.
- I, IV. England and Queen Isabella, 6: pp. 8, 38, 60, 85, 112, 114.
- I, III. England and heir-apparent, 24: pp. 3, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 20, 23, 25, 30, 32, 34, 36, 39, 46, 48, 49, 51, 53, 74, 94, 115, 139.
- I, VII. England and Edmund, Earl of Kent, 4: pp. 33, 45, 50, 96.
- I, IX. England and Henry of Lancaster, 4: pp. 42, 56, 64, 54.¹
- I, IV, VII, (England (2), Queen Isabella, John, Earl of Cornwall, Edmund, VIII, III.) Earl of Kent, and heir-apparent, 1: p. 37.
- V, I. France and England, 1: p. 67.
- V, IV. France and Queen Isabella, 13: pp. 10, 14, 17, 21, 24, 26, 31, 35, 40, 43, 47, 52, 73.
- VI, VII. Thomas, Earl of Norfolk, and Edmund, Earl of Kent, 5: pp. 12, 19, 29, 41, 55.
- VII, IV. Edmund, Earl of Kent, and Queen Isabella, 2: pp. 59, 89.¹
- IX, X. Henry of Lancaster and Earl of Lancaster, 1: p. 22.
- IX, III. Henry of Lancaster and heir-apparent, 1: p. 44.

In addition to the royal arms occurring throughout the manuscript, its miniatures and ornamentation contain other insignia of varying importance and authenticity.

The compositions into which heraldry enters may be classified as—

- (a) larger miniatures;
- (b) single figures of knights in side borders;
- (c) historiated lower borders depicting encounters between knights, monsters, etc.

Class (c) comprises, besides a number of fantastic subjects to the armory of which little significance can be attached (e.g. pp. 65, 69, 79, 81, 98,

¹ In reversed order.

132), others figuring combats and scenes of warfare, the heraldic adjuncts to which appear at first sight to be genuine coat-armour. But examination of this class of subject reveals in many cases a coincidence in the charges borne (cf. the bars and bends, pp. 121, 122, 125, 133, and 134), and in their tincturing (pp. 82 and 123, sable and argent; 125, gules and argent; 134, azure and or), which can hardly have proceeded from an intention to represent incidents in which specific persons were concerned.

A proportion of the blazonry in groups (a) and (b) is obviously authentic, if sometimes equivocally tinctured (sable on argent, pp. 61 and 92), and it finds corroboration in Edwardian rolls. The general selection of the arms is not easily to be accounted for, and, with the exception of the royal coats, may not improperly be described as haphazard.

The following, belonging to one or other of the groups mentioned (but exclusive of royal coats emblazoned in the borders), call for special notice :

p. 2 (inner border ; below). A knight in long surcoat : *Barry azure and argent an escutcheon argent, on a chief azure gyroned argent a pallet of the same* ; for Mortimer.

‘*Sire Rog^o de Mortimer barre de or e de azure od le chef palee les corners geroune a un escutcheon de argent.*’ (Parliamentary Roll,¹ temp. Edward I or II ; also 4th Nobility Roll,² 1308 ; and 5th Nobility Roll,³ 1309.)

Roger Mortimer, of Wigmore, c. 1286–1330 ; summoned to Parliament, 1305–6 to 1326 ; steward to the household of Queen Isabella, 1325 ; created Earl of March, 1328.

p. 3 (outer border, below). A knight seated, surcoat and ailette : *Argent a lion rampant vert* ; for Spring.

‘*Sire Johan Spring (of Yorkshire), de argent a un lion rampant de vert.*’ (Parliamentary R.)

p. 4 (outer border, above). A knight with surcoat : *Or three torteaux* ; for Courtenay.

Evidence for the omission of the label azure by a Courtenay of this generation is found in the seal of a ‘Hugh de Courtenay’, 1298 (Brit. Mus., no. 9010), bearing the separate coats of Courtenay (three roundels), Basset, and Le Despencer.

Hugh Courtenay (d. 1340), summoned to Parliament 1298–9 to 1334, afterwards as Earl of Devon, was son of Sir Hugh Courtenay, of Okehampton, and Alianora Le Despencer, daughter of Hugh Le Despencer and Aliva, daughter of Philip Basset.

¹ Published by Nicolas under the title, *A roll of arms of peers and knights in the reign of Edward the Second from a contemporary MS.* ; 1828.

² *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, vii, 1877.

³ *Ibid.*, viii, 1877.

p. 4 (below). A knight with surcoat, ailette, and shield: *Argent two bars gules and three torteaux in chief; for Moels.*

Nicholas Moels (son of John, of N. Cadbury, Somerset, who bore: *De argent a ij fesses de goules en le chef ij rondels de goules*—Parliamentary R.) was summoned 1311-15. He married Margaret, dau. of Sir Hugh Courtenay, of Okehampton, and sister of Hugh, afterwards Earl of Devon, already mentioned, and died 1315-16, when the representation of the family devolved upon his brothers, Roger (d. 1325-6) and John (d. 1337), respectively, neither of whom were however summoned to Parliament.

The identification with 'Wake' is apparently due to a misapprehension; cf. p. 120 or p. 74. Sir Thomas Wake, of Blisworth, however, bore the above with *a bordure indented sable* (Boroughbridge R., 1322).¹

p. 6. Mounted group of four knights:

(a) On L., circular ailette alone visible with arms reversed: *Azure a lion rampant argent and a baton gules; for Weyland.*

'*Sire Johan de Weyland* (of Suffolk), *de azure a un lion rampant de argent e un baton de goules.*' (Parliamentary; also Harleian Roll, temp. Edward I or II;² and in the 'Retenaunce du comte de Lancastre' at Stepney tournament, 1309.³)

(b) Surcoat, and square ailette with reversed arms: *Gules bezanty and a bend argent; for La Zouche.*

'*Sire Amory la Souche* (of Leicestershire), *de goules besaunte de or a une bende de argent.*' (Parliamentary Roll; also Stepney tournament, 1309.)

(c) Surcoat: *Azure a fesse argent between four (6) martlets . . .; for Kerdiff (?).*

These arms, the *six martlets or*, are assigned to Paulin de Kerdiff in the Charles Roll,⁴ late xiii century.

Circular ailette: *Argent three pales gules; for Fitz Neale.*

[This figure's charges are all comprised in the coat of Thos. Fitz-neale, temp. Edw. II: *Argent three pales gules on a fesse azure as many martlets or.*]

(d) Surcoat and square ailette: *Gules a saltire engrailed argent; for Kerdeston.*

'*Sire Roger de Kerdeston* (of Norfolk), *de goules a un sautoir engrele de argent.*' (Parliamentary R.)

¹ *Genealogist*, New Series, i, ii, 1884-5.

² *Ibid.*, iii, 1886.

³ *Collectanea topographica et genealogica*, iv, 1877.

⁴ *Archaeologia*, xxxix, p. 408, 1863.

Roger de Kerdeston was created Knight of the Bath in 1306 and summoned to Parliament 1331-2 to 1337; he died in 1337.

p. 61 (outer border). A knight with shield: *Argent three chevrons sable*; for Le Arcedekne.

‘*Sire Thomas le Ercedekne, de argent a ij cheverons de sable.*’ (Parliamentary R.)

Thomas Le Arcedekne was summoned to Parliament 1321-4. He died in 1329.

With regard to the annotation ‘Dns Walterius de Manny’, it must be observed that the field of the Manny coat is *or*; also the individual in question is said to have come to England probably only in 1327, or in the previous year.

p. 70 (outer border). A knight with shield: *Argent a chevron and chevronel sable between three ogresses.*

Ailette: *Argent a pale sable.*

p. 74 (inner border). A knight with surcoat and shield: *Gules two bars argent and three plates in chief*; for Wake (cf. p. 120).

‘*Sire Hugh Wake le oncle (of Yorkshire), de goules a ij barres de argent en le chef ij rondels de argent*’; also borne by Sire Randolph de Otteby, of Lincolnshire. (Parliamentary R.)

p. 77 (inner border). A knight with shield defaced.

p. 92 (outer border). A knight with shield and ailette: *Argent a saltire engrailed sable*; for Manners.

‘*Sire Baudewyn de Maneres (of Cambs.), de argent a un sautoir engrele de sable.*’ (Parliamentary Roll; also in the ‘Retenaunce du comte de Lancastre’ at Stepney tourn., 1309.) He was summoned to Parliament in 1309.

p. 118. Mêlée of knights:

(a) On L., a knight bearing the banner of England; his surcoat: *Gules three estoiles argent*; for Hansard (?).

Robert de Haumsard bore Rouge o trois estoiles de argent, at Carlaverock, 1300.¹

(b) Surcoat and trappers: *Gules three leopards in pale or*; for the King of England.

(c) Trappers: *Argent semy of mullets and pellets . . .*

(d) Square ailette, bearing reversed: *Gules a dragon argent.*

(e) Circular ailettes: *Gules an eagle displayed or*: for Limesey.

‘*Sire Peres de Lemesi (of Warwickshire), de goules a un egle de or.*

(Parliamentary Roll, also Boroughbridge Roll.)

¹ For biography of this personage between 1300 and 1315, when he disappears, see Nicolas’s edition of the Carlaverock Roll, p. 329, where, however, *estoiles* is translated *mullets*. Cf. Wright’s edition.

p. 119. Mêlée of knights :

- (a) On L., trapper at charger's neck : irregular *nebuly* pattern *gules and argent*.
- (b) Square ailette : *Azure two chevronels potenced inwards between three annulets argent*.
- (c) Square ailette : *Gules three leopards in pale or, a baton azure*; for Lancaster, Lord of Monmouth.
- (d) . . . a dragon (?) *gules*.
- (e) Square ailette : *Gules three escallops, 1 and 2, or*.

The coat, *England a baton azure*, was borne by Henry of Lancaster, Lord of Monmouth, during the life of his elder brother, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster and of Leicester, etc., executed after Boroughbridge in 1322.

Henry was created Earl of Leicester in 1324, when, or by May 1325, i.e. before the reversal of Lancaster's attainder—in virtue of which reversal (1326-7, March 7) he succeeded to the earldom of Lancaster—he assumed the arms of the earls of Lancaster of his house: *England a label of France*.

The single instance in the manuscript of the earldom's arms (p. 22), in contrast with the six parallel instances of the minor Lancaster coat (pp. 42, 44, 54, 56, 64, and 22), may be attributed to the still dubious associations of the former in 1326-7. If, however, the group to which the insignia of Lancaster-Monmouth belong be considered half of a composition comprising both the miniatures in pp. 118 and 119, the representation of these arms in battle with the Crown appears a *méprise*. Boroughbridge was fought, moreover, between Thomas of Lancaster and Harcla—not Edward II in person.

p. 120 (above). Miniature: equestrian group. In the centre the King of England; of the persons attending him the armorials of two only are distinguishable :

- (a) Surcoat, square ailette, and trappers : *Azure a bend argent cotised and between six lioncels rampant, or*; for the Constable Bohun, Earl of Hereford.
- (b) trappers only : *Or two bars gules and two (for three) torteaux in chief*; for Wake.

¹ A counter-seal of Earl Thomas, at variance with the seal proper, exhibits a *label of France of five points*; the same is assigned to him in certain rolls (Guillim, Charles, and St. George) in which the labels are uniformly of that variety. Yet the identity of the coat, labelled of 4, or of 5 points, was implied by Henry of Lancaster, in 1325, in repelling the royal accusation of treason in that he had abandoned his own arms and was bearing his [attainted] brother's insignia. He said that he had assumed the arms rather of his father than of his brother, which also were his by right of succession, the more so as his first-born brother [Thomas] died without issue. See the Monk of Malmesbury, 'Vita Edwardi II,' in *Chronicles of the reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, 1883, ii, 281-2.

The contemporary Earl of Hereford and High Constable of England was John de Bohun (d. 1335-6), a cousin of Edward III, being eldest son of Edward II's sister Elizabeth, by Earl Humphrey, slain in 1322 at Boroughbridge.

Thomas, Lord Wake of Lydell (1297-1349), was summoned to Parliament 1317-48. He was doubly allied with the house of Lancaster, having married, secondly, before June 1317, Blanche, daughter of Henry, Lord of Monmouth, later Earl of Lancaster. His sister and eventual heir, Margaret, married, about Christmas 1325, Edmund, Earl of Kent, brother of Edward II, and died in 1349.

p. 120 (below). Mounted knights in combat :

(a) Surcoat and ailettes : *Azure a lion rampant argent*; for Montalt.

‘*Sire Robert de Mouhaut, de azur a un lioun rampaund de argent.* (Parliamentary Roll; also 4th Nobility Roll, 1308. *Roger de Muhaut*: Harleian Roll, temp. Edward I or II.)

Sir Robert de Montalt was summoned to Parliament 1298-9 to 1329. He died in 1329.

(b) ailettes : *Gules a fesse, two martlets and a bordure argent*; intended possibly for a Beauchamp coat.

p. 124 (lower border). The King and three mounted knights :

(a) Behind the King, shield : *Argent a bend between six martlets gules*; for Furnival.

‘*Sire Thomas de Fornival, de argent a une bende et vj mereloz de goules.*’ (Parliamentary Roll; also 4th and 5th Nobility Rolls.)

Thomas de Furnival, senior, of Sheffield, was summoned to Parliament from 1295 to 1331-2.

(b) Surcoat : *Barry of ten argent and gules*. The shield is uncertain, as to the number of bars.

(c) Shield : *Argent a lion rampant sable*; for Stapleton.

The intention to depict authentic coats is perhaps clearer here than in most of the scenes of combat, equestrian and foot, in this part of the manuscript.

p. 132 (outer border). A knight with shield and ailette : *Or a saltire engrailed sable*; for Botetourt.

Apparently for John de Botetourt, summoned to Parliament 1342-85, son of Thomas (d. 1322), and grandson of John de Botetourt, summoned from 1305 till his death in 1324, whom he succeeded. In the latter's lifetime John II had differenced with a *label* (3) *gules platey* (Boroughbridge). The arms are given in Parliamentary Roll : *De or a un sautoir engrele de sable*.

p. 137 (lower border). Two knights:

(a) Shield: *Or a bend cotised sable*; for Harley.

‘*Sire Richard de Harlee* (of Shropshire), *de or a une bende e ij cotyes de sable.*’ (Parliamentary Roll.)

(b) Shield: . . . (?); ailette: *Gules a lion rampant argent*; for Mowbray (?).

Sir John Mowbray, executed after Boroughbridge, 1322 (*de goules a un lyun raumpaunt de argent*—Parliamentary Rolls), left a son, John, summoned to Parliament 1327-60.

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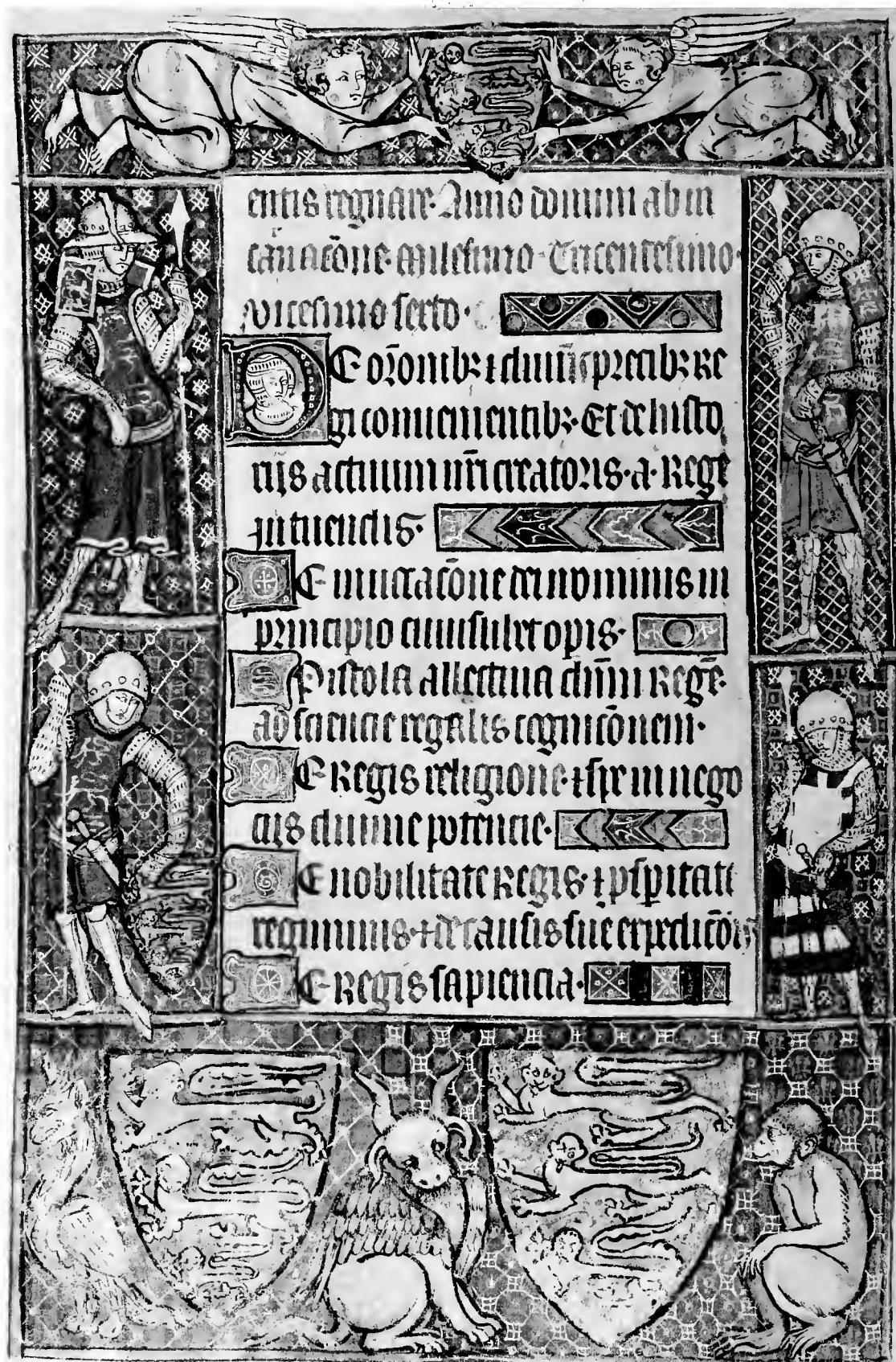
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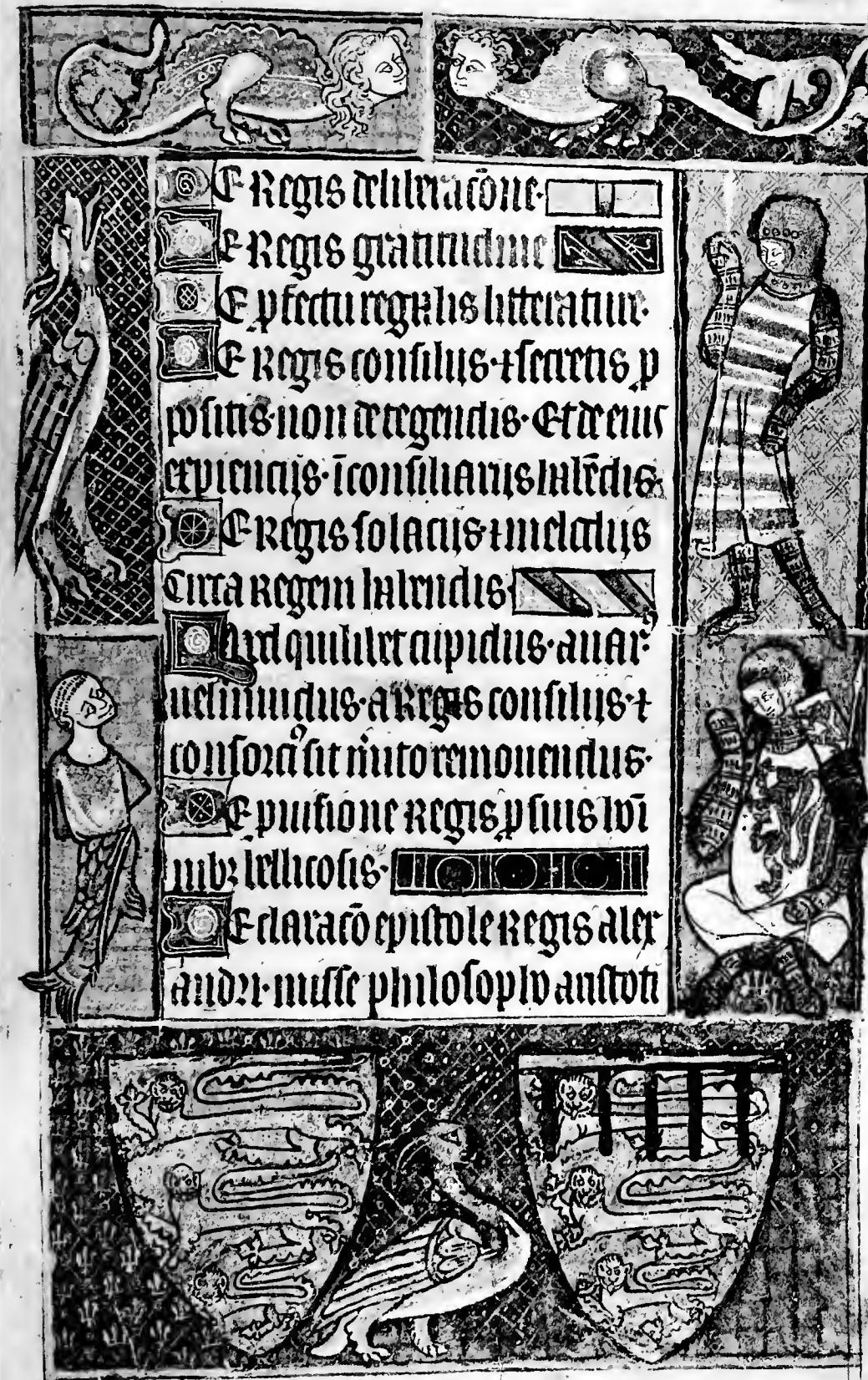
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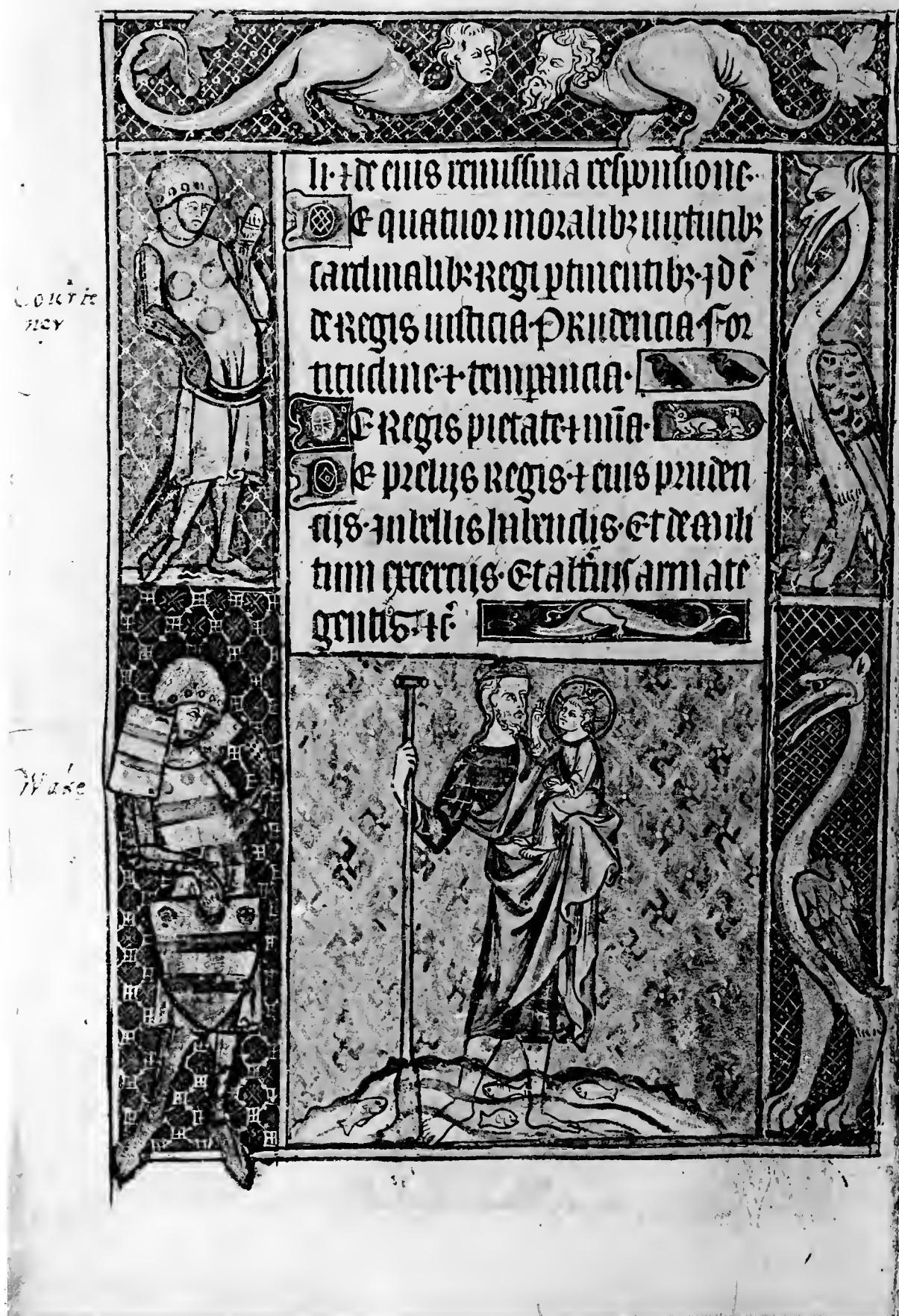
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Exemplar

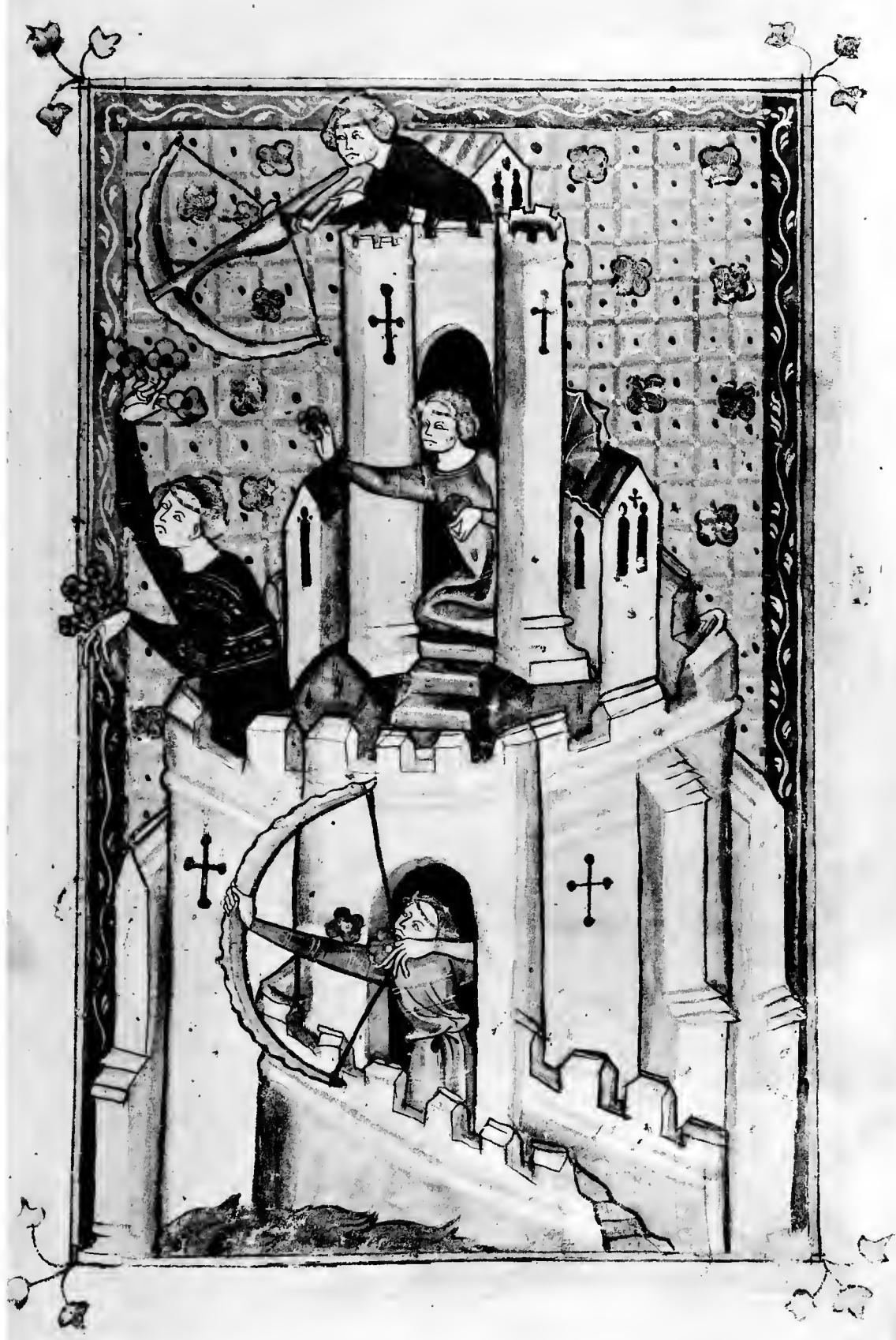


Princeps primogenitus
 Regis Anglie











Edwardus iii Rex
Anglie et Francie
filia Philippa regis
Portugal



trinitatis inuictandum. p's
i filij i spiritus sancti. ut probat
coclue de officio. prefaci pectorio
affice. lege in nomine domini.
In quo nomine unam deitatem
sub p'ci maiestate i pia trinitate
erere delerimus ut probatur. coclue
testimonia trinitate i fidei catholicae
lege prima. i dicit decretum non
potest sup' p's. omnium opis prim
cipium. ubi xps non ponitur fun
damentum. ut probatur prima
auctoritate prima capitulo pauli.

Terumq; cuiuslibet rei p'ci po
tentissima erat principium. ut
probatur digestis de origine iuris
lege secunda. **E**t omnia recte
iuris geruntur i principium sit
decretus i amabile deo. probatur ma
nuscripta quomodo oportet ep's

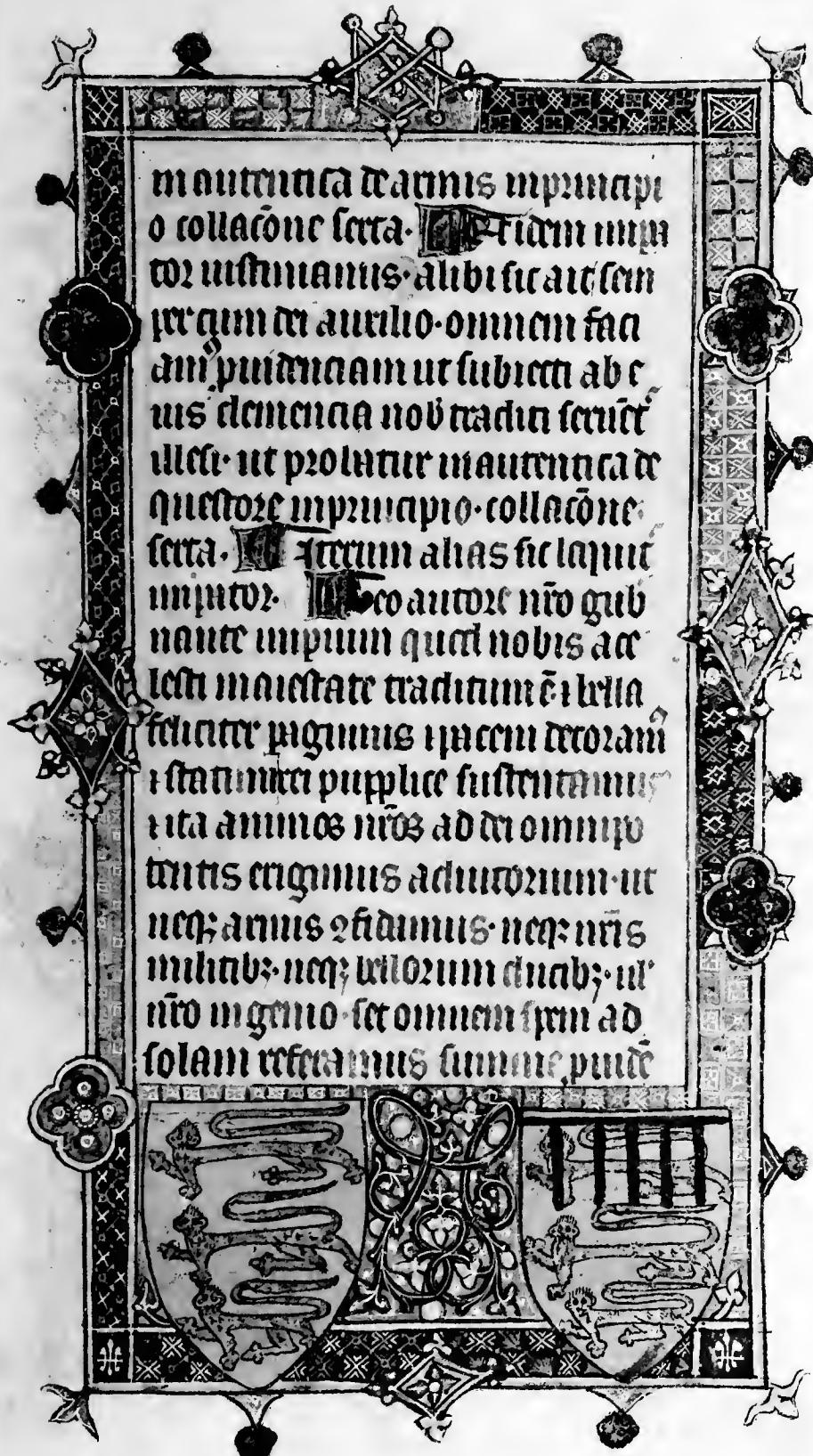


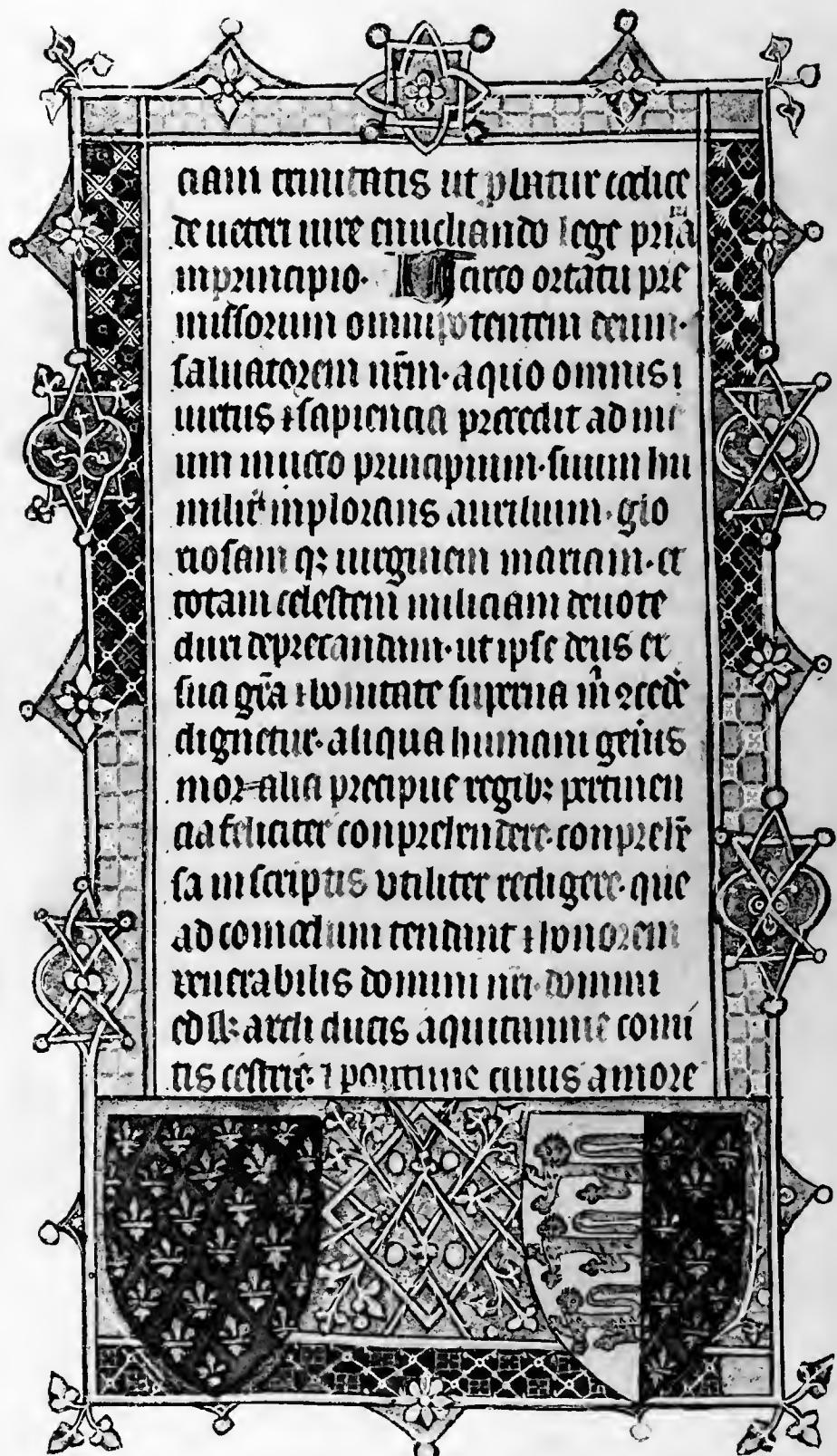
aureo anulo nosti indigent in p
atio collacōne certa. **E**t indece
ns prima questione secunda capi
tulo quam pio. vicesima tercia n
distincōne capitulo in nomine do
mini. + alibi dicitur indecessis sine
comendamus sine vilamus sine i
quid alio. agamus in nomine do
mini id facere delemus in quo in
unus mouemur + sumus ut pro
latur vicesima certa questione cer
ta capitulo non obsecratis in fine.

Reuera sic nos admonet dñs
imperior iustianus qui ait ma
gnum deum saluatorem nřm ih
suum r̄p̄m + spiritus sancti grāmī
omnib; operib; iustare delemus.
ut summo dei nomine iustato de
um autorem. + carus nřm opis de
fensorem fieri optemus prolatur

Thomas Broth
erton. Esq.
Esq.

Edmundus de Wasthol
Esq. Comte Canty





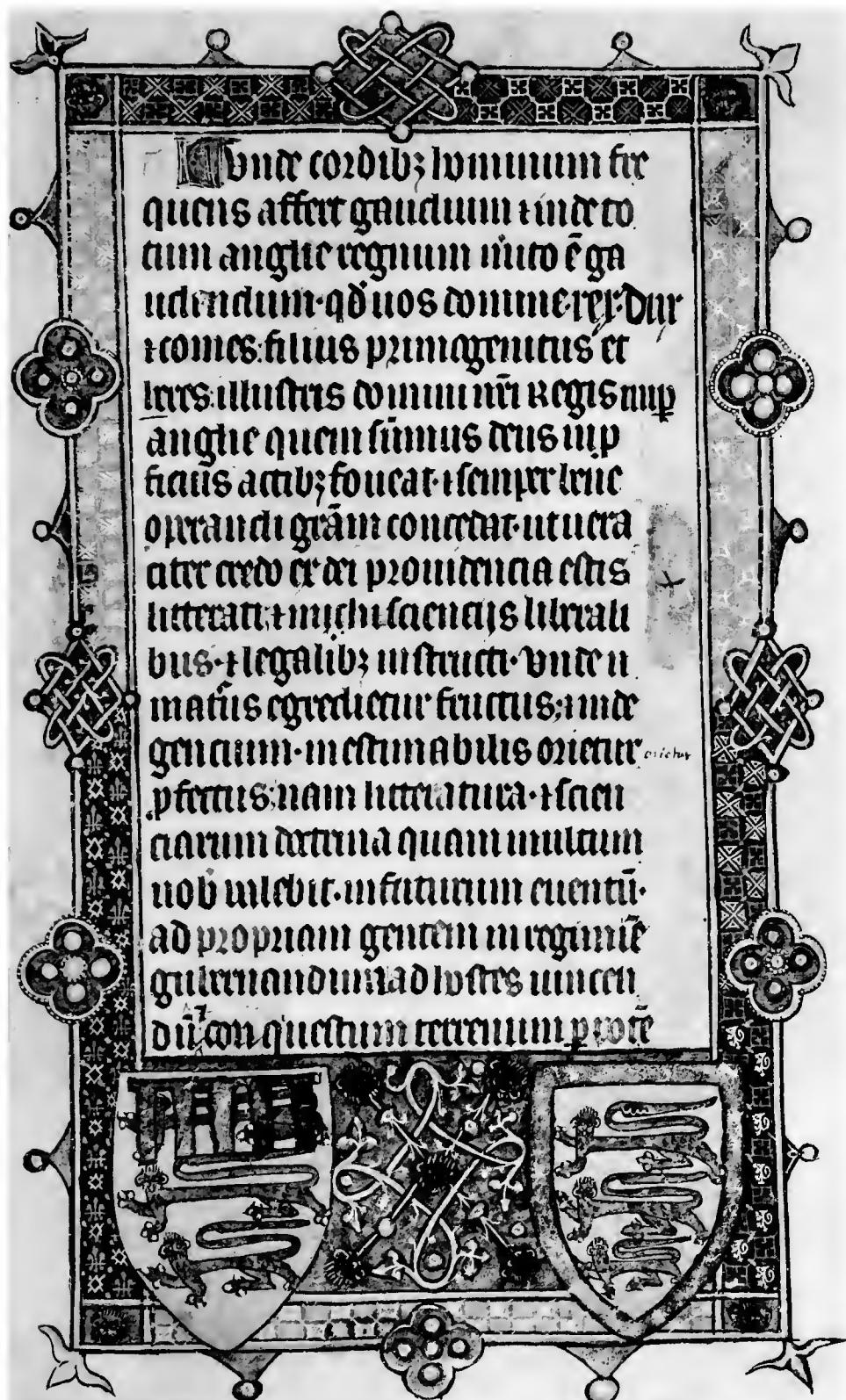




ne Domino hibernie. Edic
Aquitanie. *S*uis humilis
i deuotis. *S*alteris de militem
clericis reuerentiam et honorac
fidele deuotis obsequi serm i sua
paratum ad cuncta precepta i ma
data cum promptitudine eplacere
di. *O*mnipotens deus replete
infinite bonitatis suos semper fo
uens dilectos qui e omnium vir
tutum disporor. i grārum largi
tor suam diuinam uob tribuat
grām i dilectionem ac inuis stre
nus actibz concedat triumphale
excellēcōnem. *V*esta nouit i
dominacō reuendit qd honor re
gus i nobilitas regal' omnes
alias interris nobilitates pre
cellit honoris i dominorum sub
iecti: cura pugili: ac studio dili

*Aut. 14**f. 9. a*

genit deinceps pudente: in suis cordi
 b: ingiter cogitare quoniam inchi
 us possent honorem: comeduntur
 pfectum: suorum dominorum:
 consilio fidel: i auxilio: utilius
 augmentare: cum augmenta
 co honorum: i expedito: re: mili
 tarium dominorum: sepe tendit:
 ad rei publice comeduntur: ad p
 fectum omnium subditorum:
Hunc e domine reverentissime
 qd ego uester subiectus ad uram
 ut spero immensam utilitatem: et
 uelut estimo ad uem honorum p
 tri grām augēdū: presentem li
 brum: ppro studio duri: 2ponen
 dum: et etiam librū philosophiaris
 totūq maḡ prudētia: id est hūa
 na contineatur: pro ut in fra inchi
 sis capitul: satis liquide patet:







regentes multas et nationes
 et terras sibi subiungere. multas
 terras hinc utiliter cum pacis tracta-
 quilitate regnare. et mutatis tem-
 pore bellorum et pacis monum-
 enta subiecta super populum si-
 vi subtilium recte triumphare. at
 quod in omnibus actibus regali discere et
 prudenter agere. Eam ad hanc
 cunctis exemplum. de nobili rege
 aleandro macedonia. qui olim
 multas terras et terras pro
 unaas meus dominio adquisi-
 sunt. per consilium et dictum
 illud philosophi aristoteli phi-
 losophorum sapientissimi. qui a
 tiquitus regi aleandro quem
 tam librum didicit qui natura
 rerum secretorum aristoteli
 quem librum philosophus aristoteli

huc est

Henricus Comes
 Lancastriae

Edmundus Comes
 Lancastriae

totiles ad usum regis: et petiō
 nem cōposuit: qm̄. multum se
 ner etate: in levallis corpore exi
 terat: qd̄. ppter nimiam senectu
 tatem: et corporis ualitudinem
 in aula regia psona uiter consu
 lendo morari non poterat: a quo
 liberer: alicander documentum
 didicat philosophiam: ad se ip
 sum: et suum imperium in temp
 oribz pacis et actibz: quicqz bellis
 feliciter regendum: pr̄ qd̄ consi
 lium suos hostes oppressit: bella
 denicit: castra rauitates: obsecit:
 diuinas terras: et gentes in suo
 domino adquisiuit: magnum
 imperium s̄ subiugauit: et in om
 ni controuersia triumphum op
 tinuit: et in omnium actu regalitatem
 nre se habuit: Circo domine rei





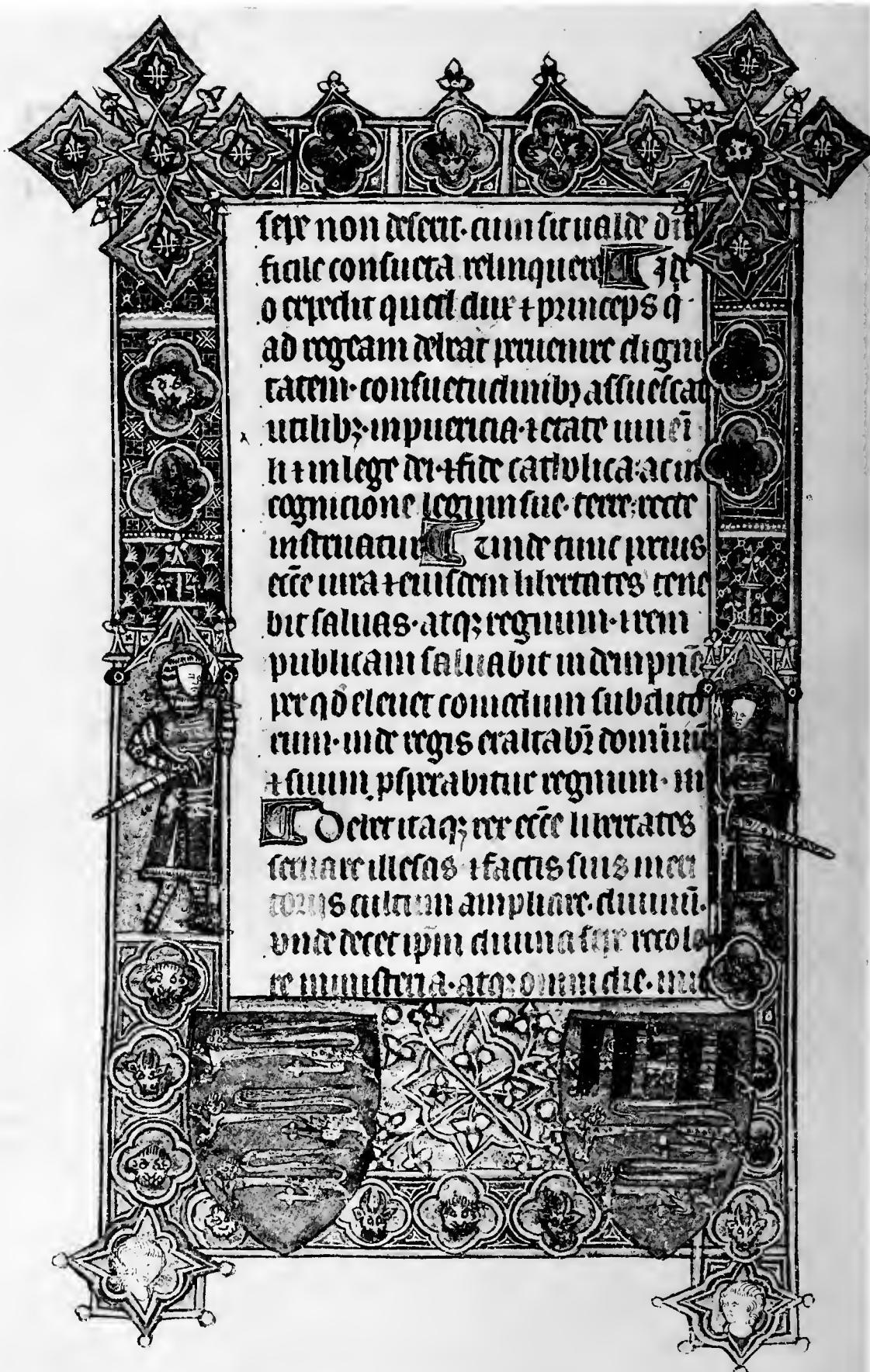


tuose uiuere. inter gentes fuiuare
 regnare. ubicumq; uobis pla-
 cuit conquestum optinere. a d-
 o glioso monuimus predicatione gran-
 um uiuamen uitere. ultimo post hunc
 uite transiit in regno celesti. co-
 ronam glie portare. ibideum regna-
 do cum deo. et tota celesti uicia. in
 gaudio sempiterno sine fine pre-
 ficerare. quod ita sit quilibet legens
 seu legi audiens. hoc capitulum. a
 ad laudem et honorem omnipot-
 entis dei. et latte marie virginis. dic-
 cat cum deuotione. ter orationem do-
 nicam. cum salutacione virginis
 gliose. Et regis religione et in
 neguis diuine potencie.

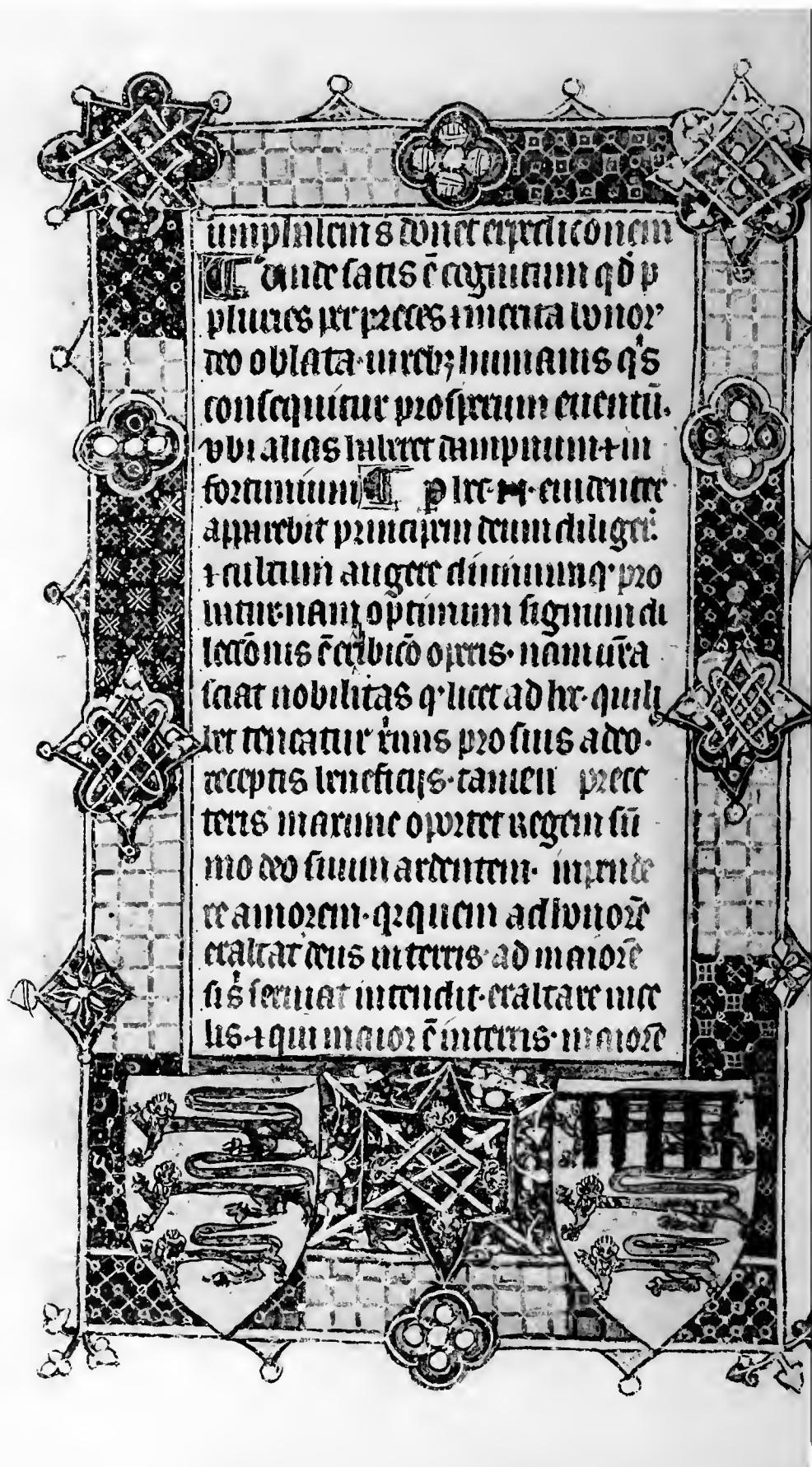








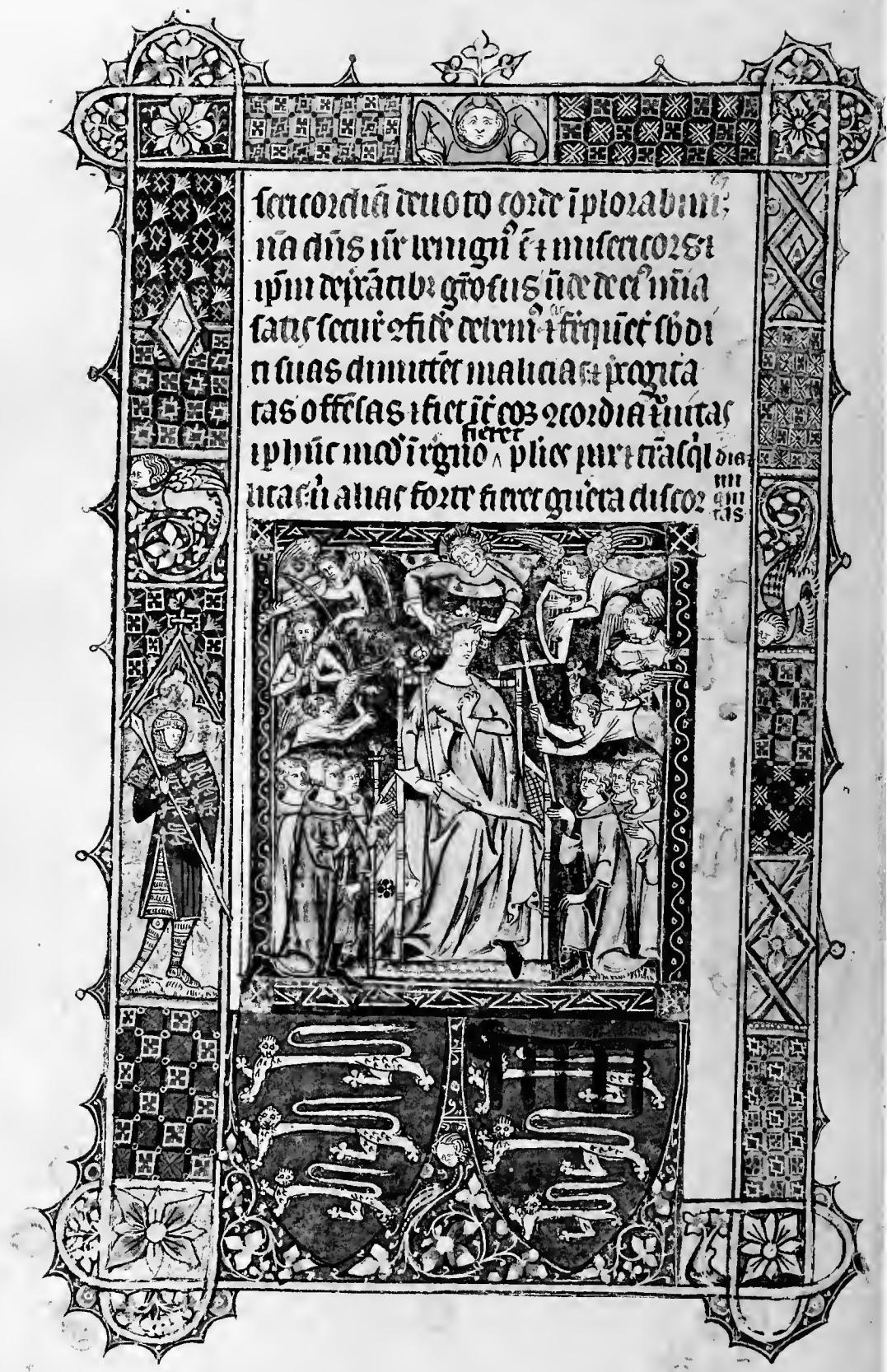
tam saltum inuidum deuote audi-
 re. elemosinas pauprib; erigare.
 iniuriantes reprimere. oppresos in-
 uare. insubditos pro lato et tempore
 misericordiam exercere. et alia ca-
 cantatis opera frequenter efficere.
Congruit etiam bonitati qd
 ter faciat ac statuat. destinari o-
 nib; religiosis eius domino sub-
 iectis. et outetur eisdem. qd derige
 regna libris eorum. et suis ante-
 atiorib; memoriain faciant sy-
 nalem. insuis deuotib; predic-
 ionib; et missarum solemnis
 sepius qd diuinum implorent.
 aurilium. vt deus sit celus et terre et
 si granum. iuritatem qd hinc et uniu-
 sum possit gubernare regnum.
 ad dei viacatum et eius populi p-
 fectum; insuis regis negotiis tri-



telat diligere in celo: et alia ratiō ē sic i-
 utiq; amare regi profestū inueni-
 sum: p̄co q̄ qui dñm perfecte diligit.
 in omnib; suis negotiis: semper le-
 ne expedīt: et ē rō: qui utiq; deo seruit
 p̄re eum: deus non p̄mitit: si omni-
 ib; actib; ipsum iuuat: et consu-
 ue: qui aūq; eum dñm diligit.
 eum diligēti: deus suam refert
 dilectionem: et quem ip̄e deus dili-
 git: sine suo iuuamine non dese-
 rit: et cui deus suum auxilium tri-
 buit: quis cōt̄ eum resistere poterit
 utiq; nullus. Unde securus ē p̄ po-
 terit: q̄ in omnib; suis negotiis di-
 uīnum subfidūm: ad rectos li-
 mites ip̄m producit: et utiliter expe-
 dire faciat: nam tunc sine dubi-
 o: subdā regis uel ducis sue ter-
 re: omnes alii terre: illi alienē ip̄m



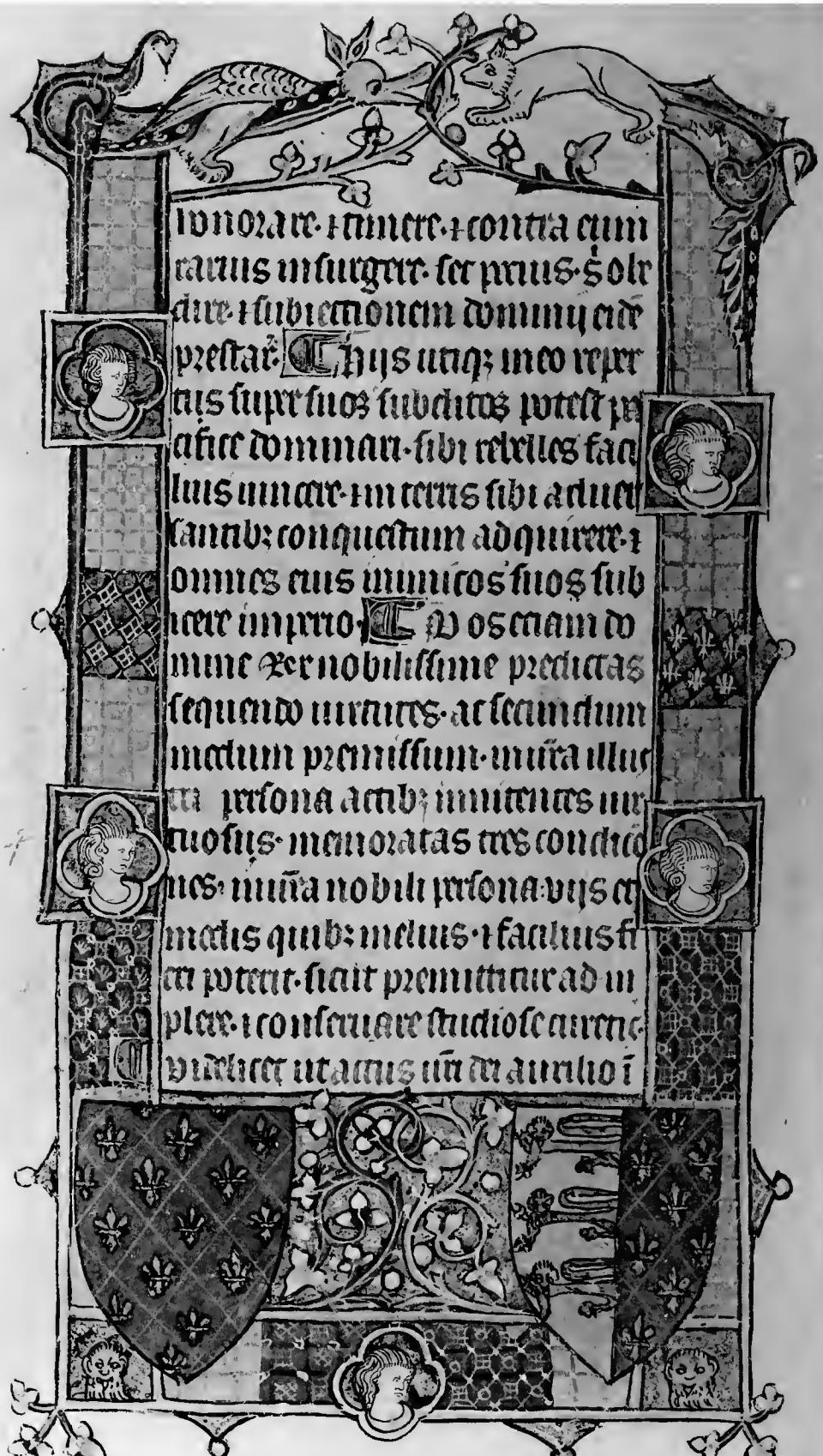






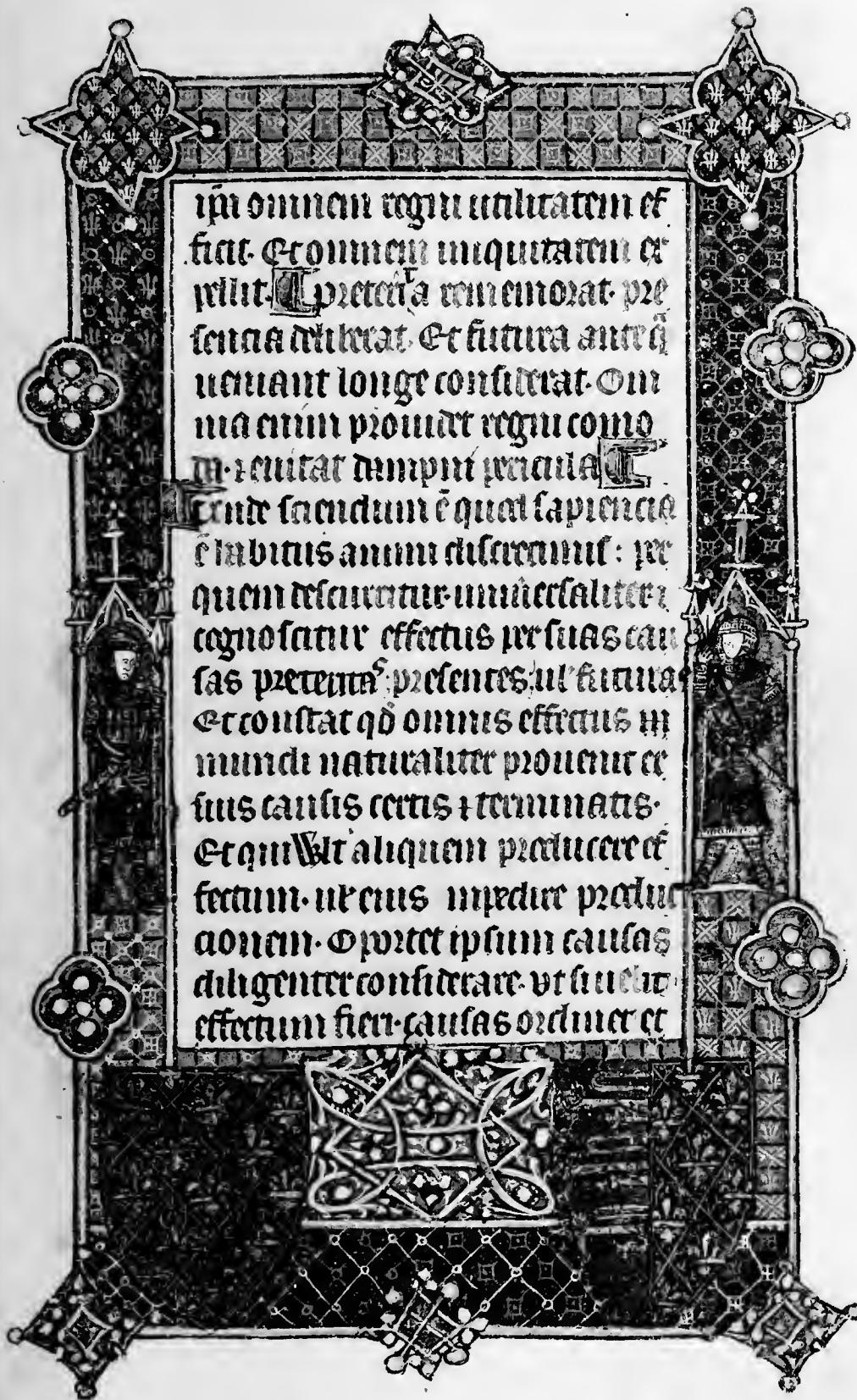
qd eius disposicio deo placat. in
singul' suis actib; auxilium ino-
cat diuinum. **E**nibiliter enim lo-
icitatis perfectio ducit desuper a-
deo glosa. is semper annuit deus per-
titionib; subsidium. iuste postula-
tis. **Q**uem uero quis timet in
uiam. au deus supernum pres-
tat refugium. utq; nullum. in
imo patis omnes sibi aduersan-
tes suo subiugat diuino. et que
pro culpa. idem deus uult des-
trui. periculum potest terrenum a
confusione defendi. **E**st etiam
alius coincidens. uiamen regu
qd uniuersaliter regis subdia. n
maiores precipue ac etiam com-
munitus populus sui regum ipm
regem diligant. timent. iobed-
cent ei. qd accedit quando uidet

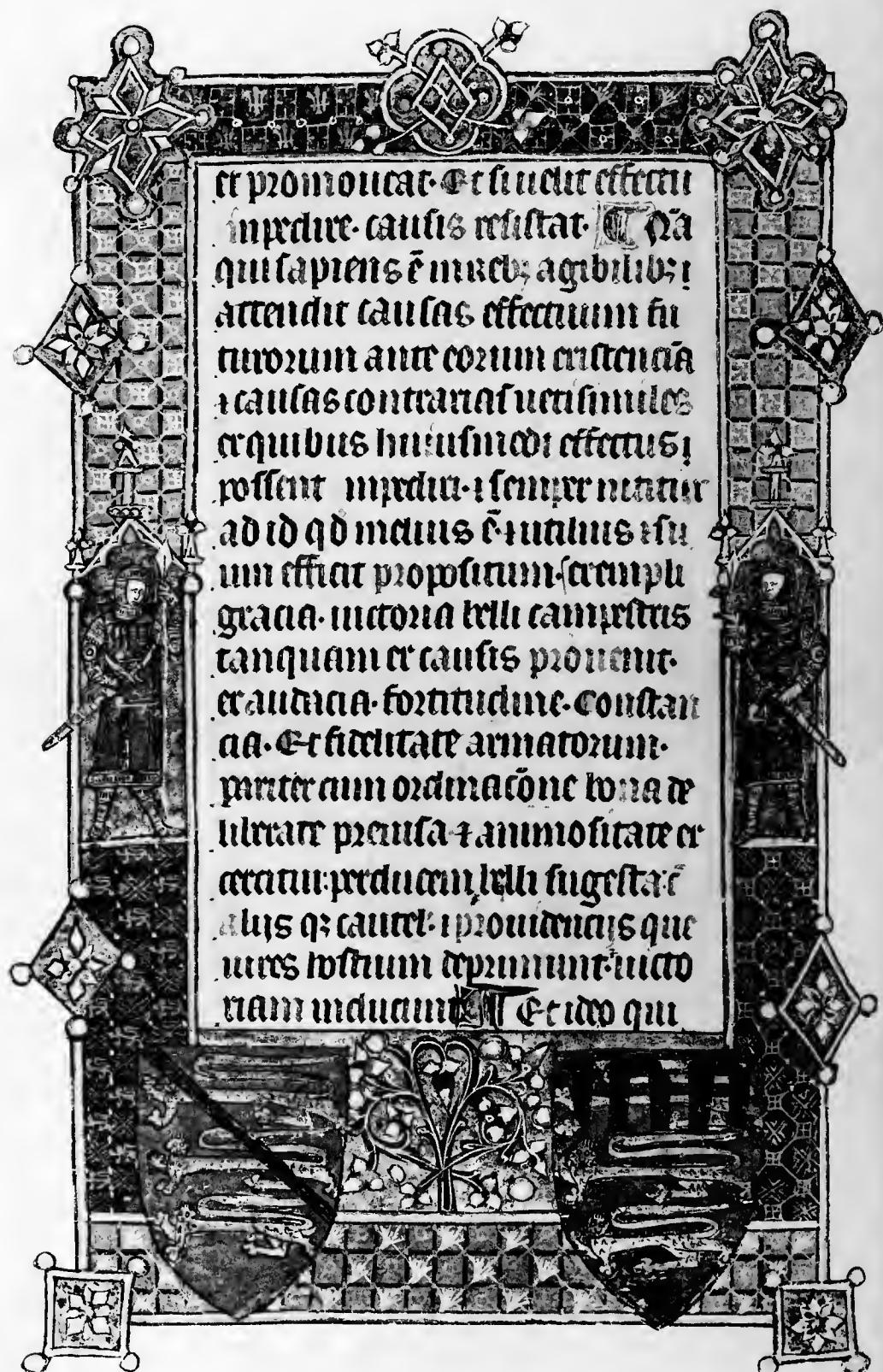












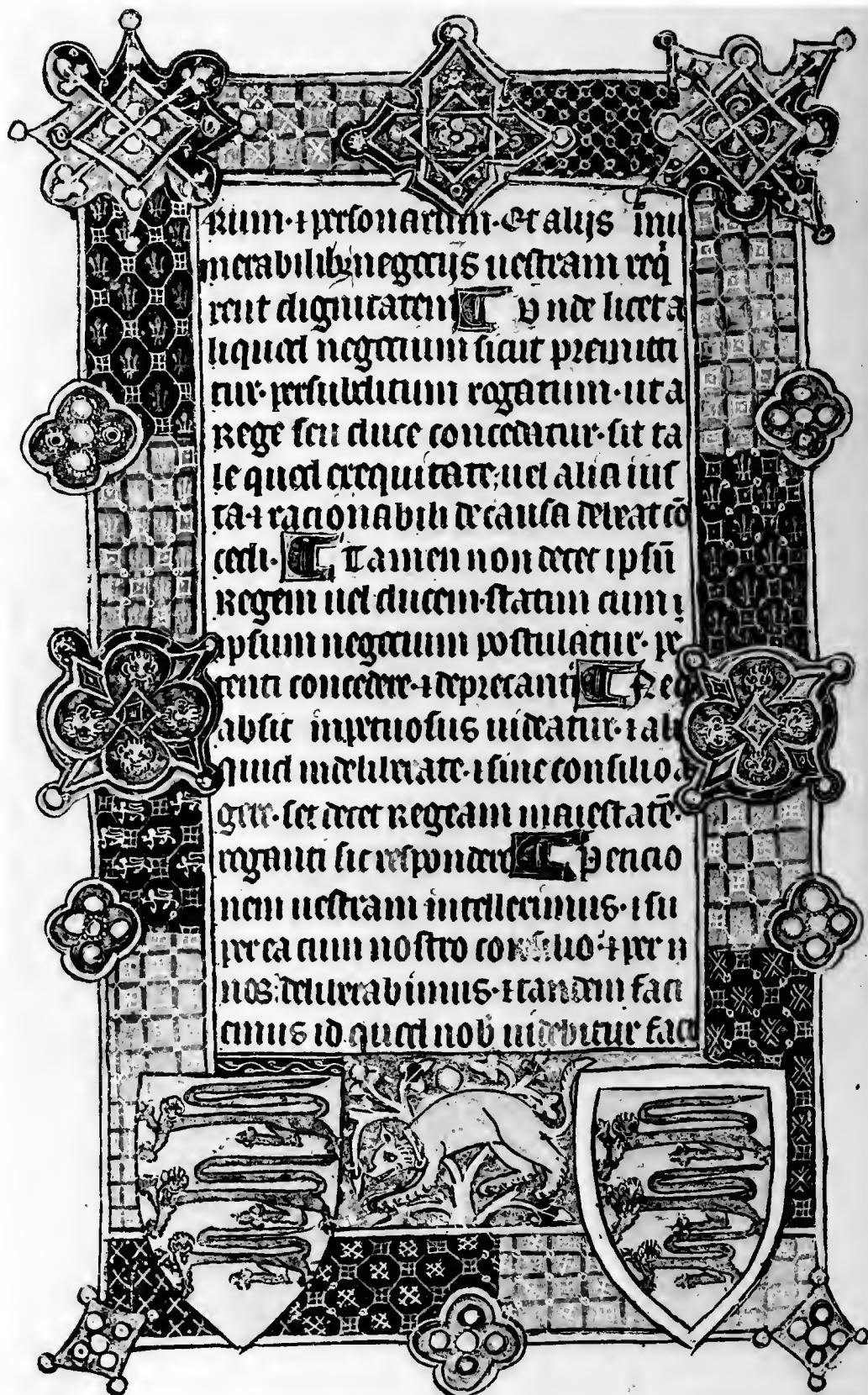








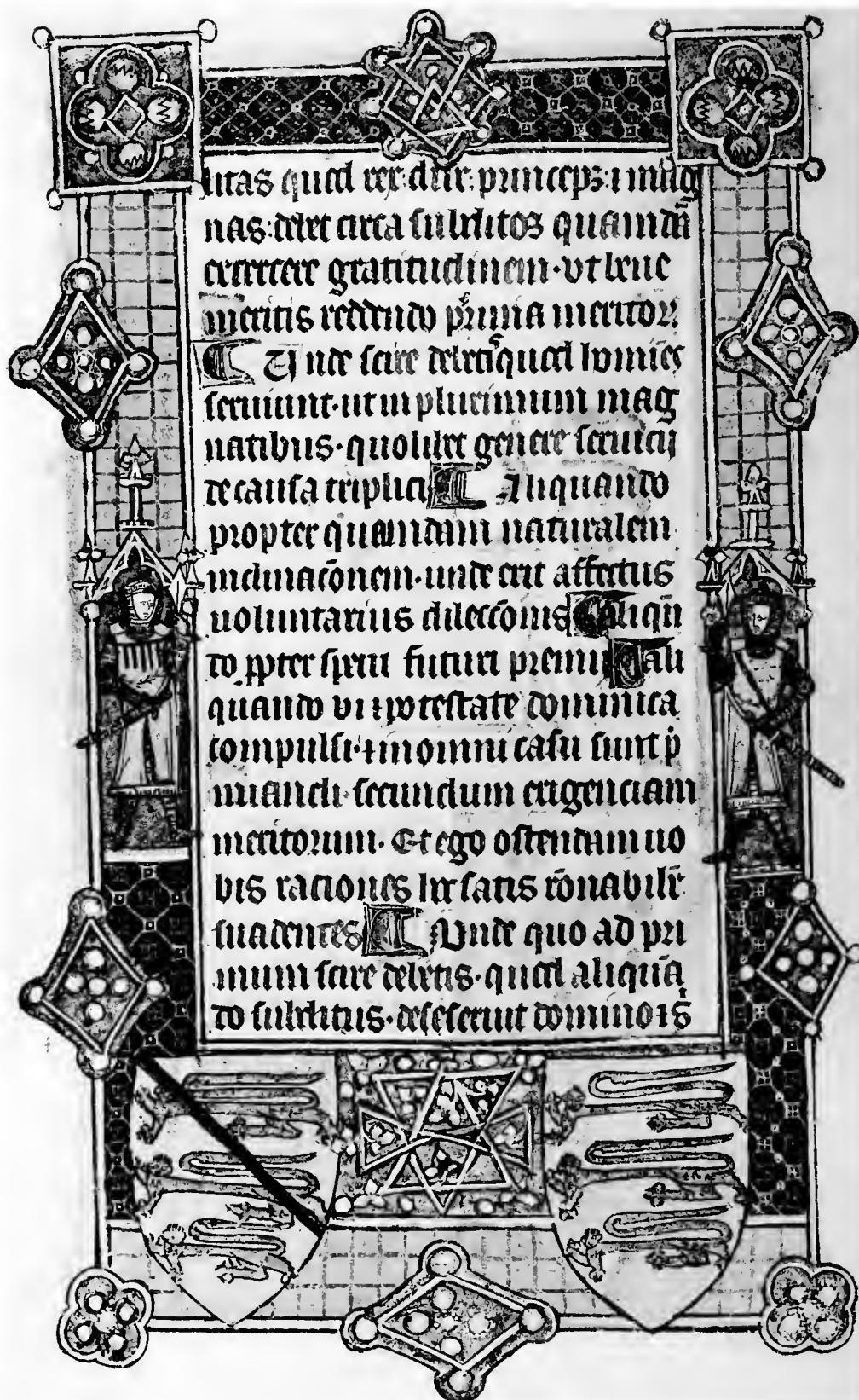
utas qd multum credid regie
 maiestati. qd omnia negotia e
 gia sapienter. cum discarones
 sunt expedita. i terminata. ppter
 uestram decet dignitatem omni
 cum consilio discrete agere. Et i
 nichil sine uestra deliberacone p
 habita finaliter terminare.
 Unde satis notum est dnos ac
 quiclibones. comites. milites
 vassalli. eccliarium q; priuati.
 Et alii de terra maiores. amico
 res ad uestram sepe uenient in
 iestatem. Et uos deuote interpellent
 prouarus eorum negotiis.
 ut pro libertatib; concedendis. i
 Esclavos. vassalis. exortagis
 Terris redditib; ad manum in
 mortuam habendis. Et pro in
 minutatibus. et priuilegiis lato





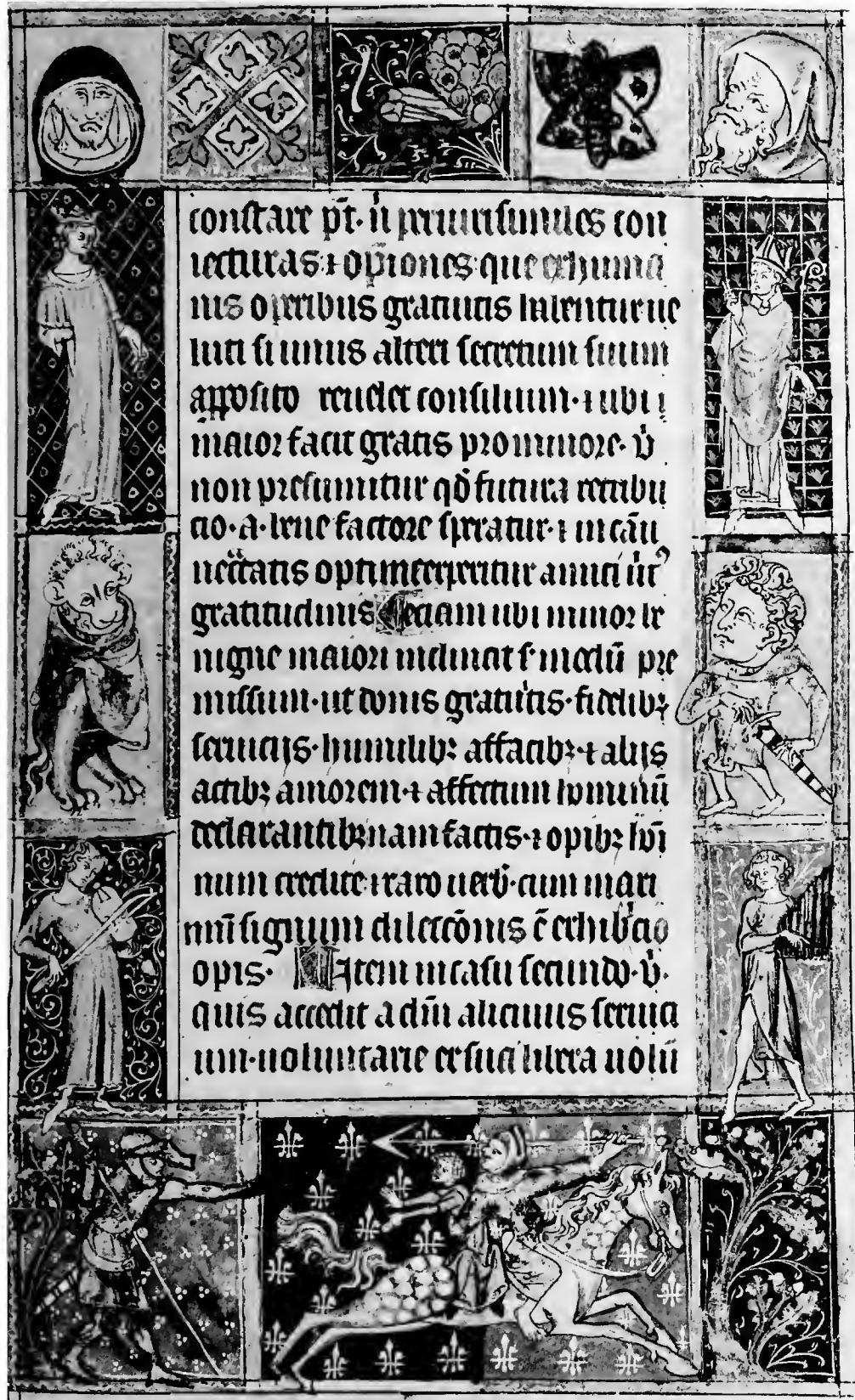






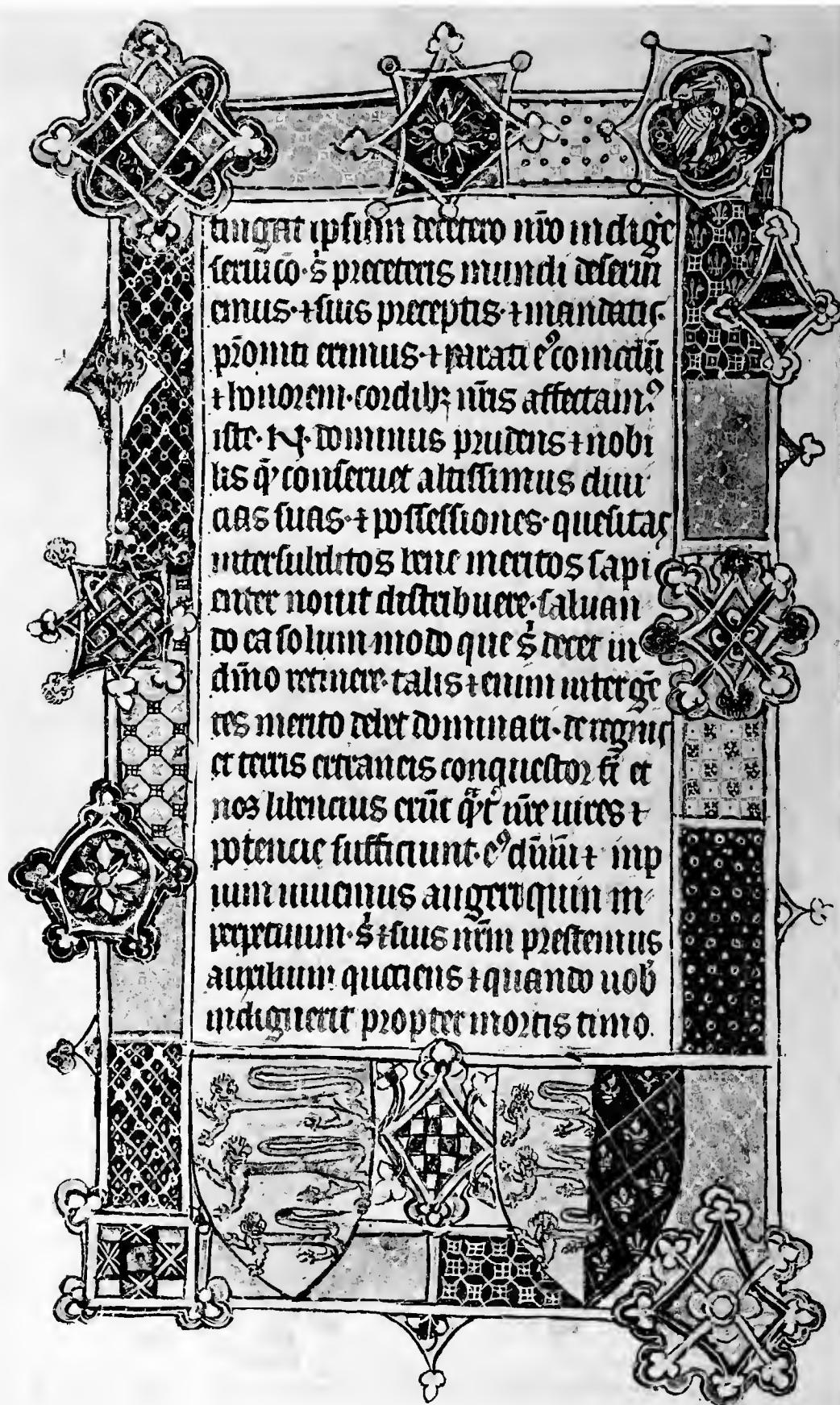


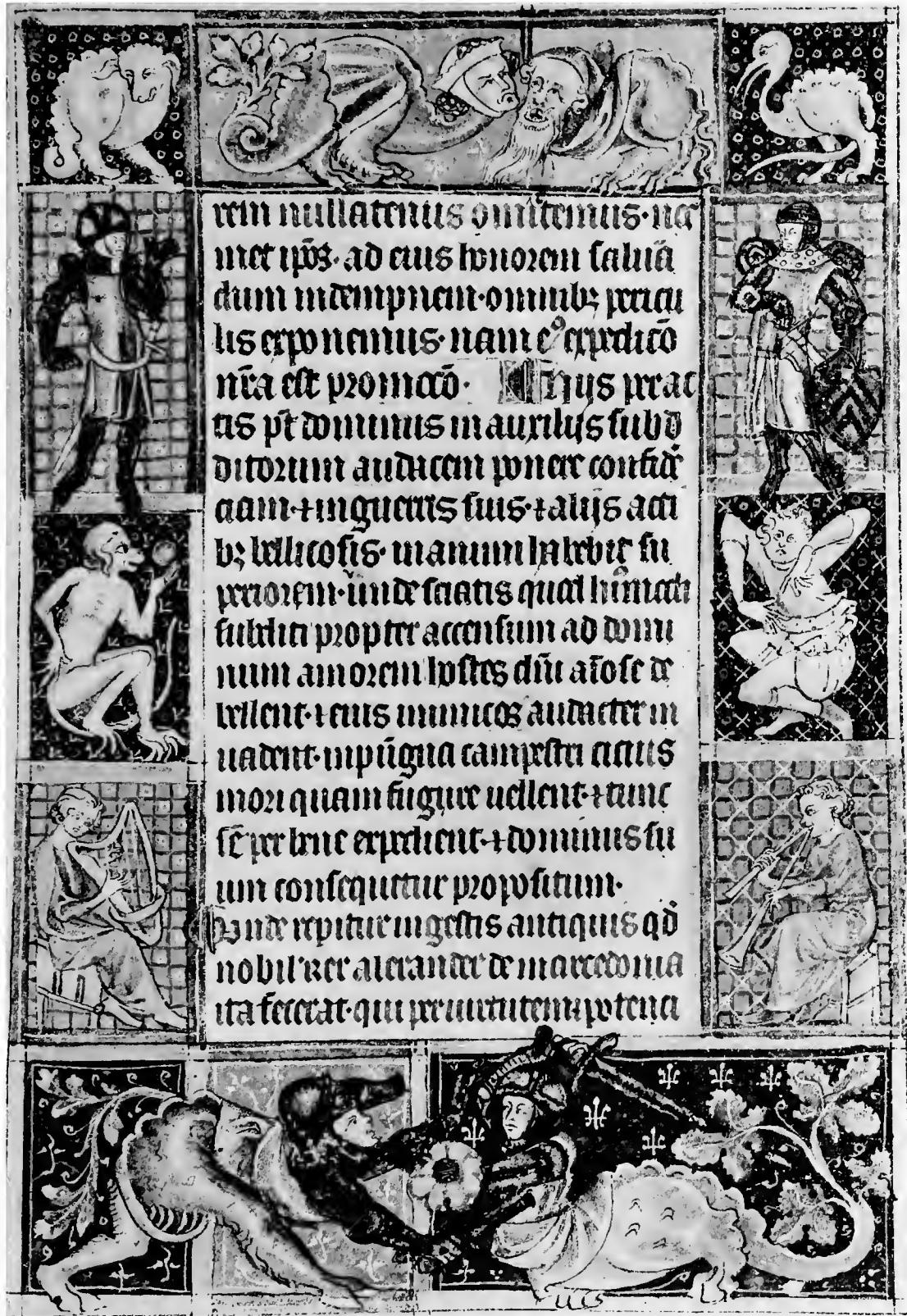


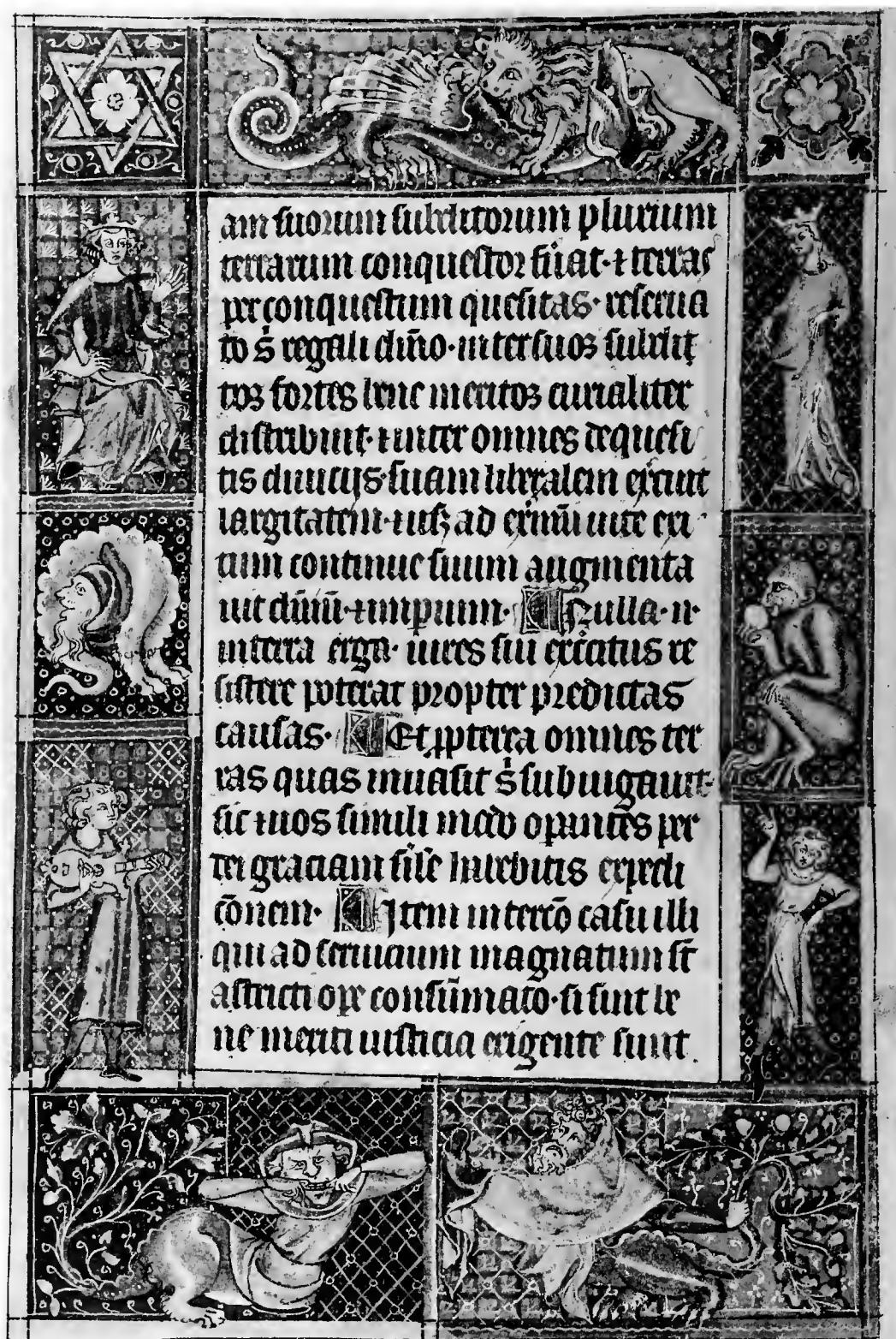


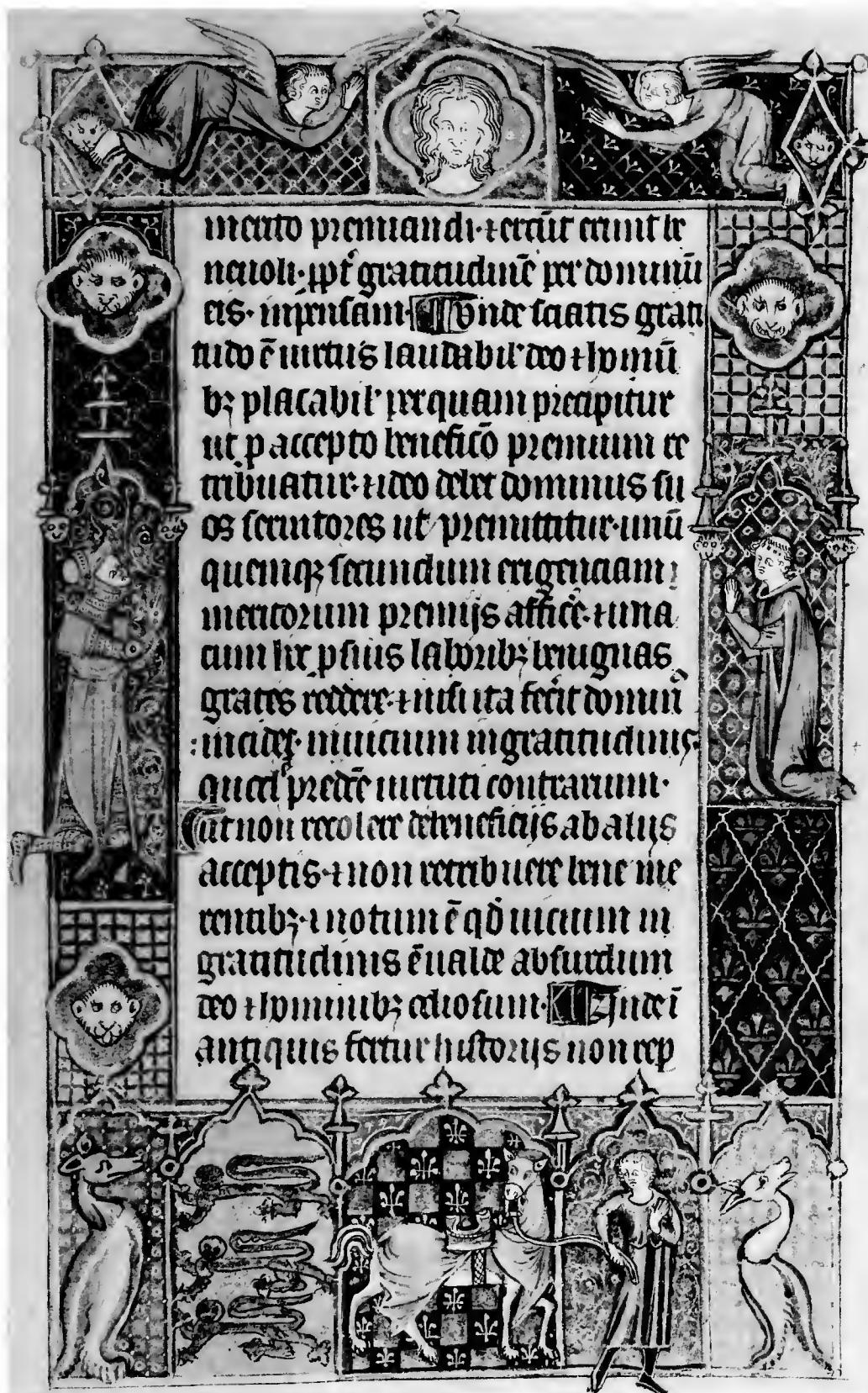


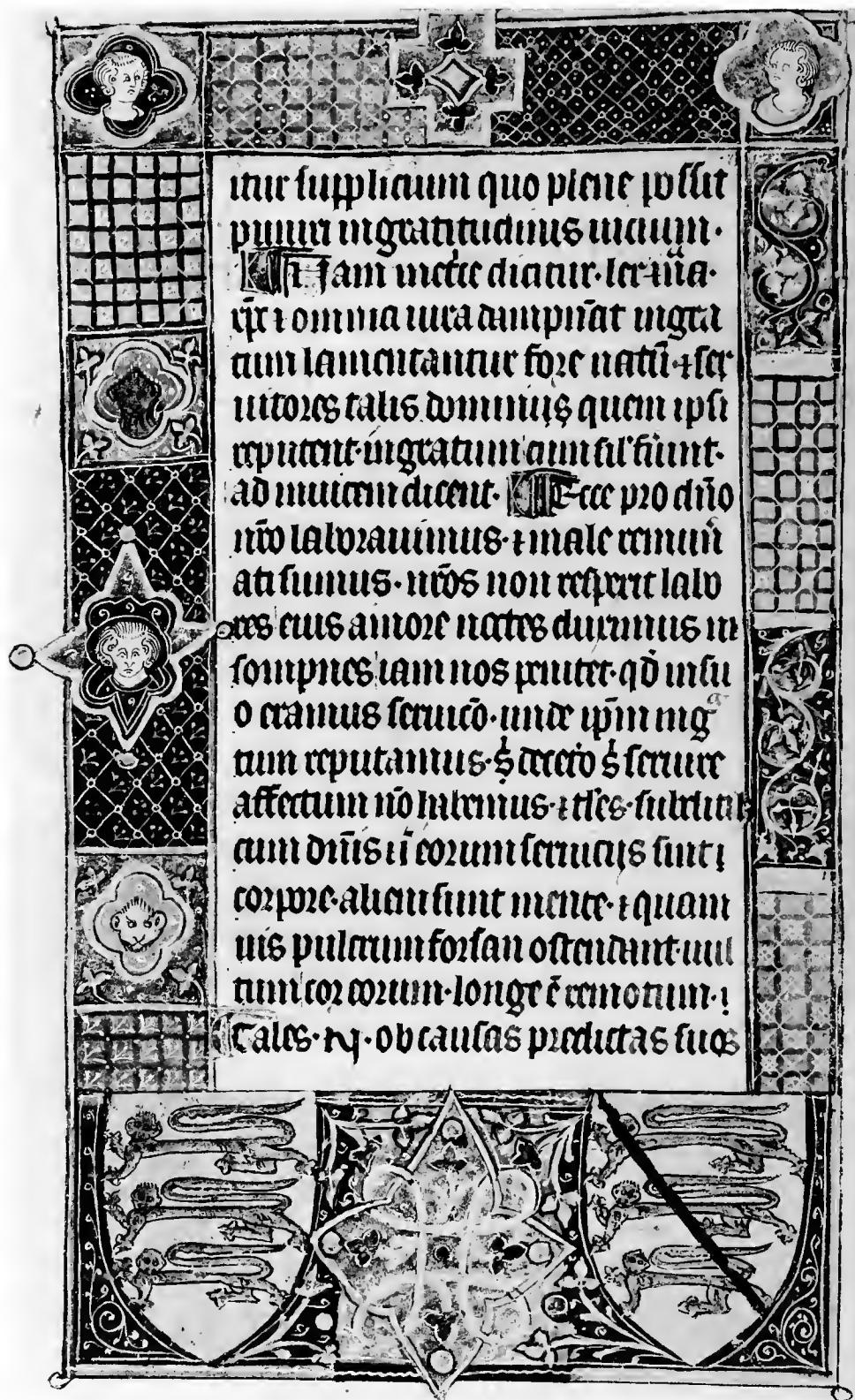
postmodum suo domino benivolē
 fuit. tuassis. Et cum simi
 fuerint congregati admicem erūt
 dicentes. Ecce dominus iste no
 bilis aū nōm prestumus seruā.
 aū grā larga sua munera nobis
 otulit. et labores nōs curialē resper
 it q̄libet. & nōm scād meruit dōis
 suis liberaliter premiāt. Hui
 us nōm quis uām sentit languatū
 et unius quisq; nōm satis ē conten
 tūs de sua p̄cīmū porcōne. neq; itaz
 s̄ placere cūpīmū inimicos suos
 iūtēs. et alios sibi rebelloz ubiqz
 terrarum iuadere uolumus. iū
 nias s̄ latas iūndicabimus et b
 ainq; fūcūt sibi aduersantes u
 opprīmēmus. H̄ste utiq; p̄cīla
 ris dominus ē largus. liberalis
 gratus strenuus. et lenigruis si con

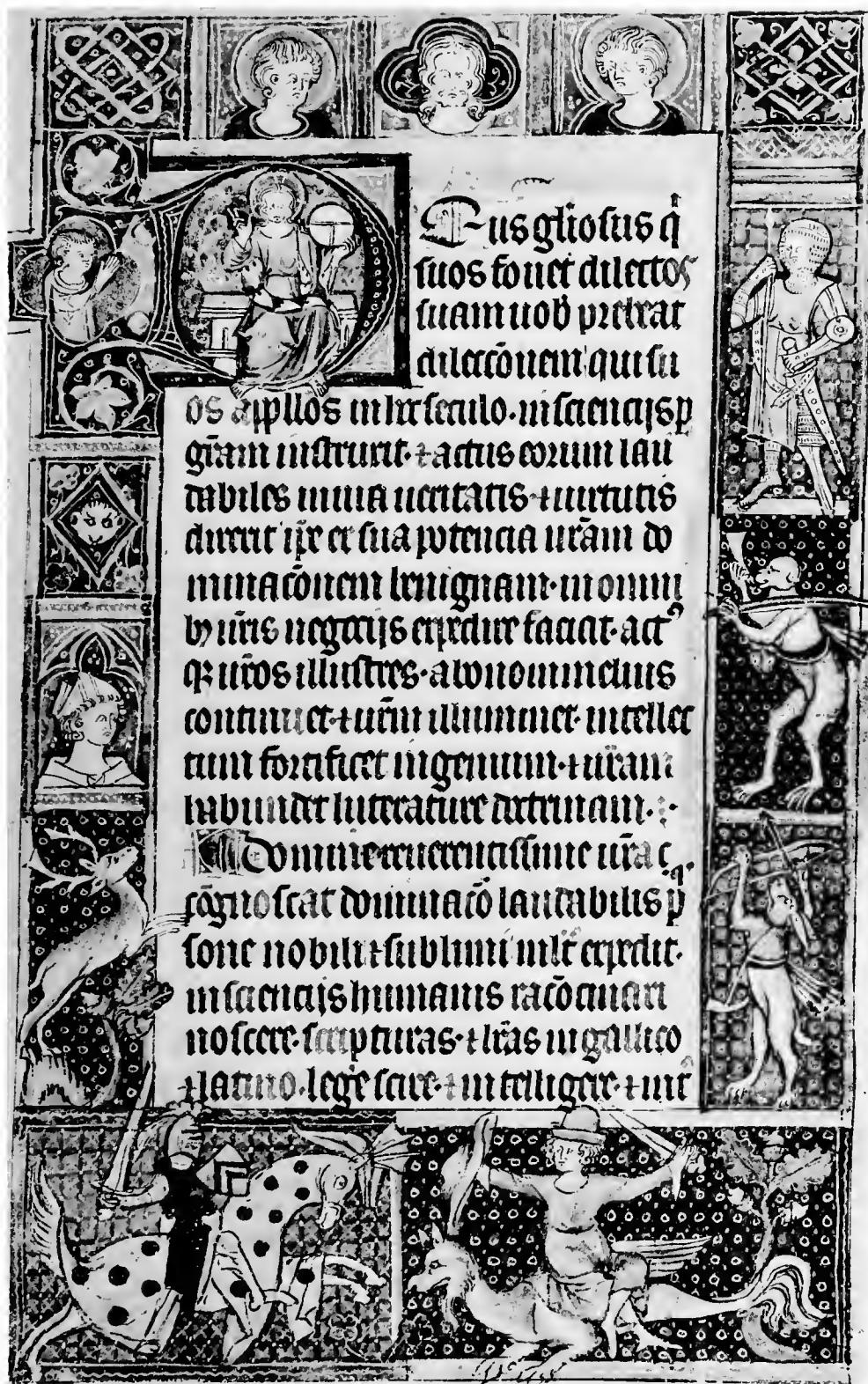


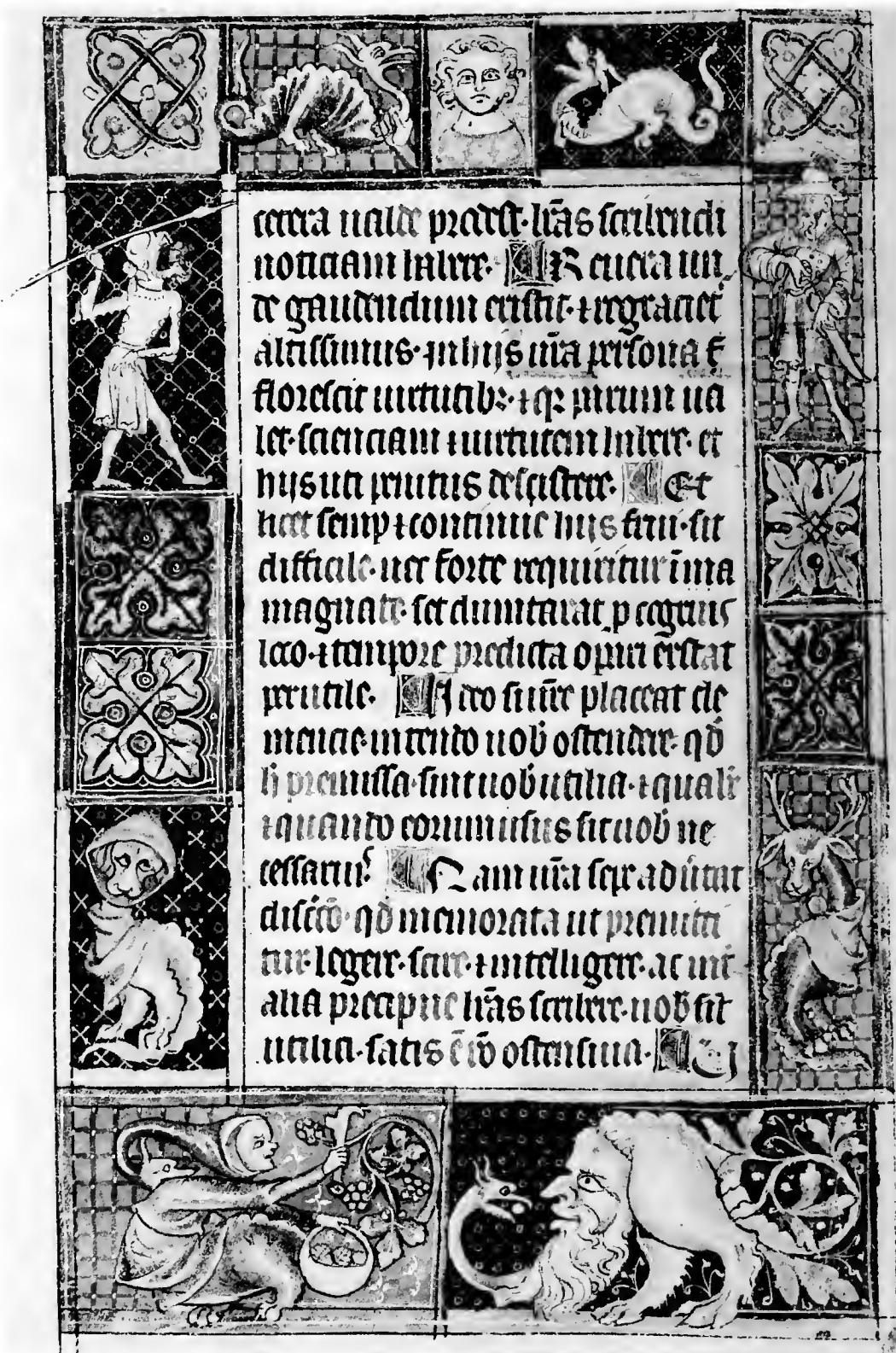








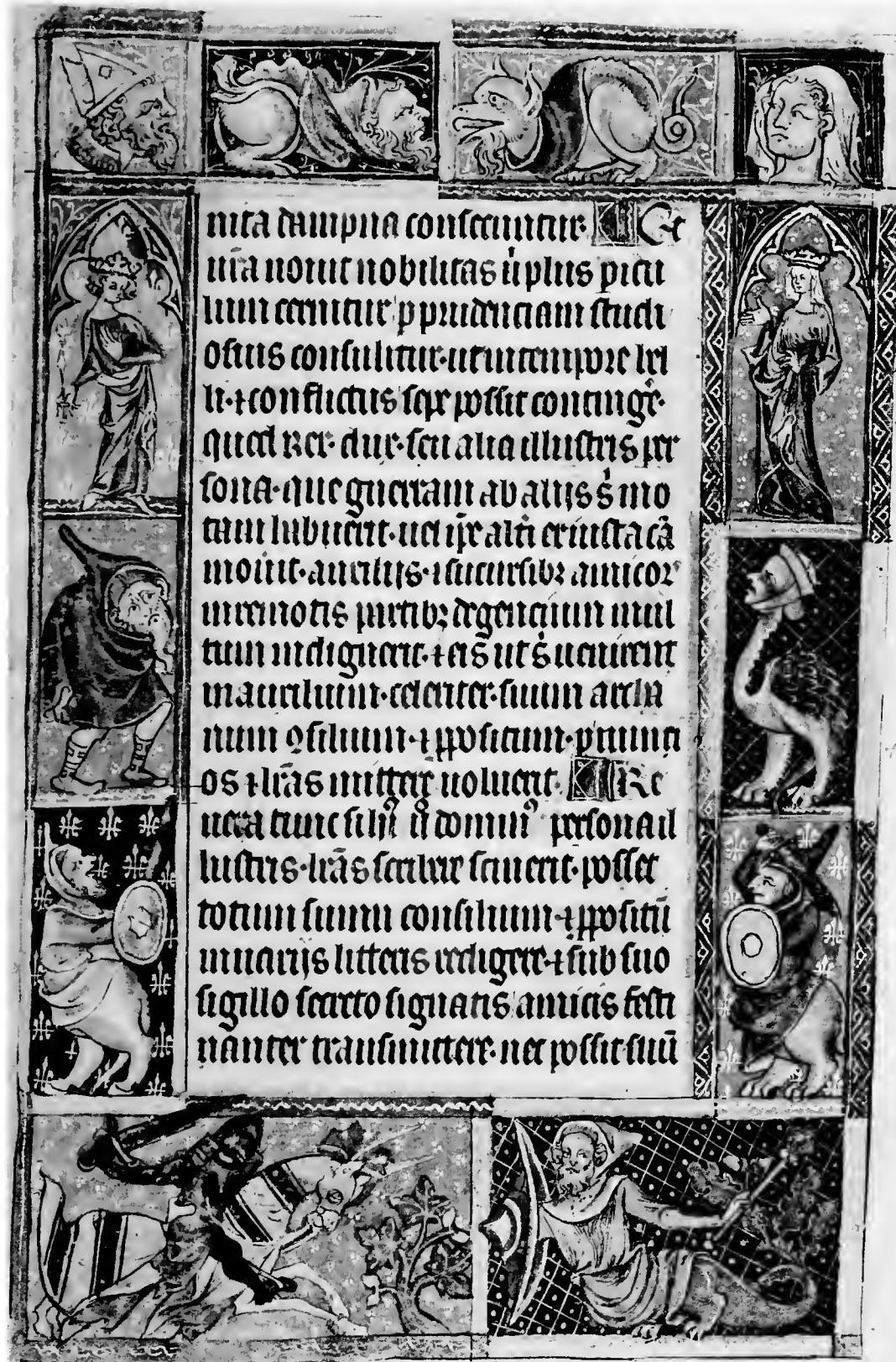


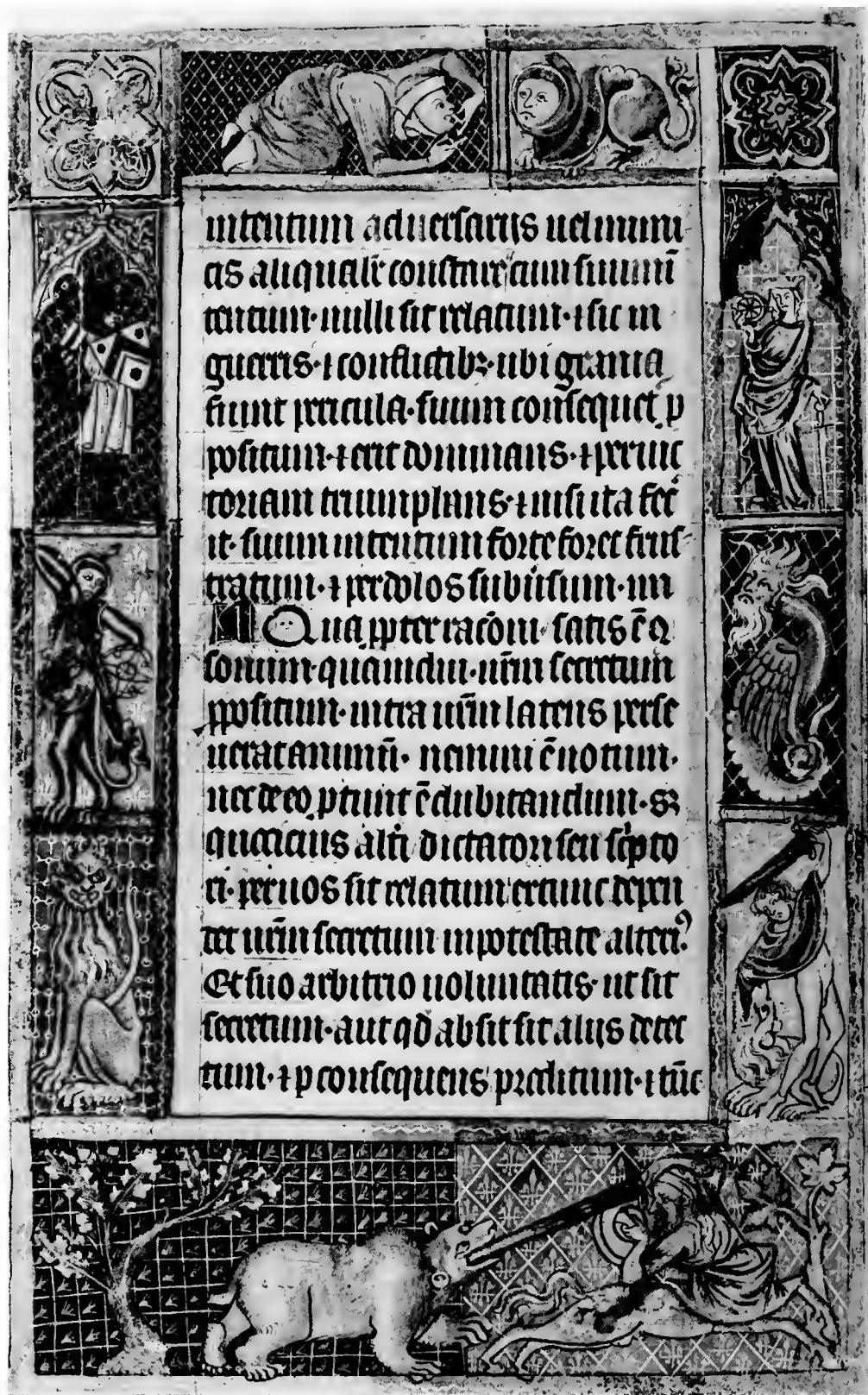


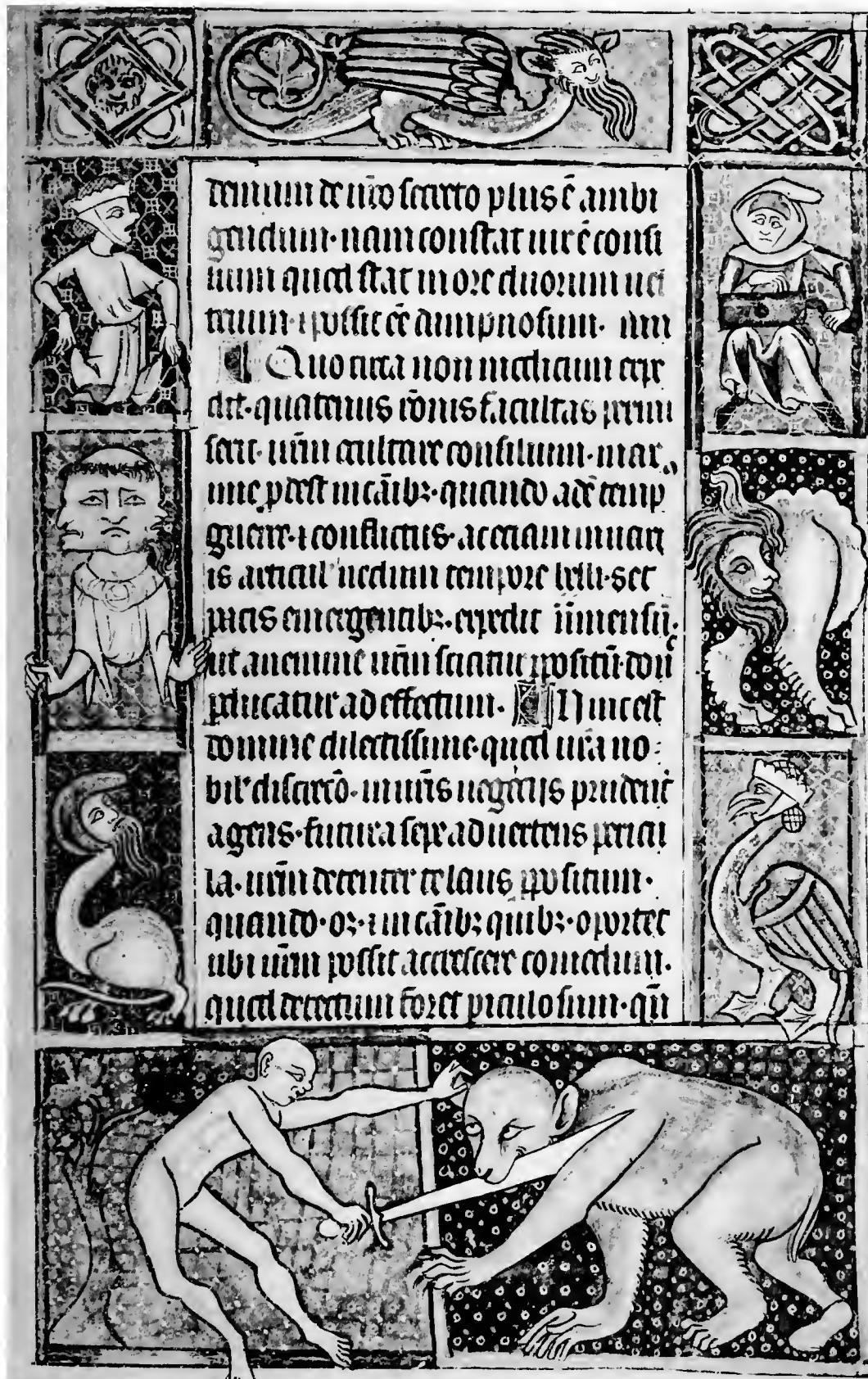
num itaq; dictum suum sepe remo-
 tetur ad animum. q; omne negotiū
 ppositum utili excedendum. erbo
 no fidei consilio. suum suum eror-
 dum. itunc deum capit effectū.
 quando quis sapienter opatur seū
 dum utile consilium. nichil omnī
 secretum ppositum e nūis cultan-
 dum. s; ut consilia viri illustris sunt
 secreta. et ppositum in casu pseu-
 dum. subi c pfaciūn lras pia ma-
 nus alicr. animis nūis fūntū
 mutare. in artus saltum negotiis
 quicq; et quando assit necessitas.
 et negotiū ex postat subluntas ut in
 casu contingente quando foret pr-
 iaculum anquām cruciare pposi-
 tum. **E**t nūi illustris persona
 māni pia. sciret lēscribere oportet.
 suum consilium scriptori dicere. sic

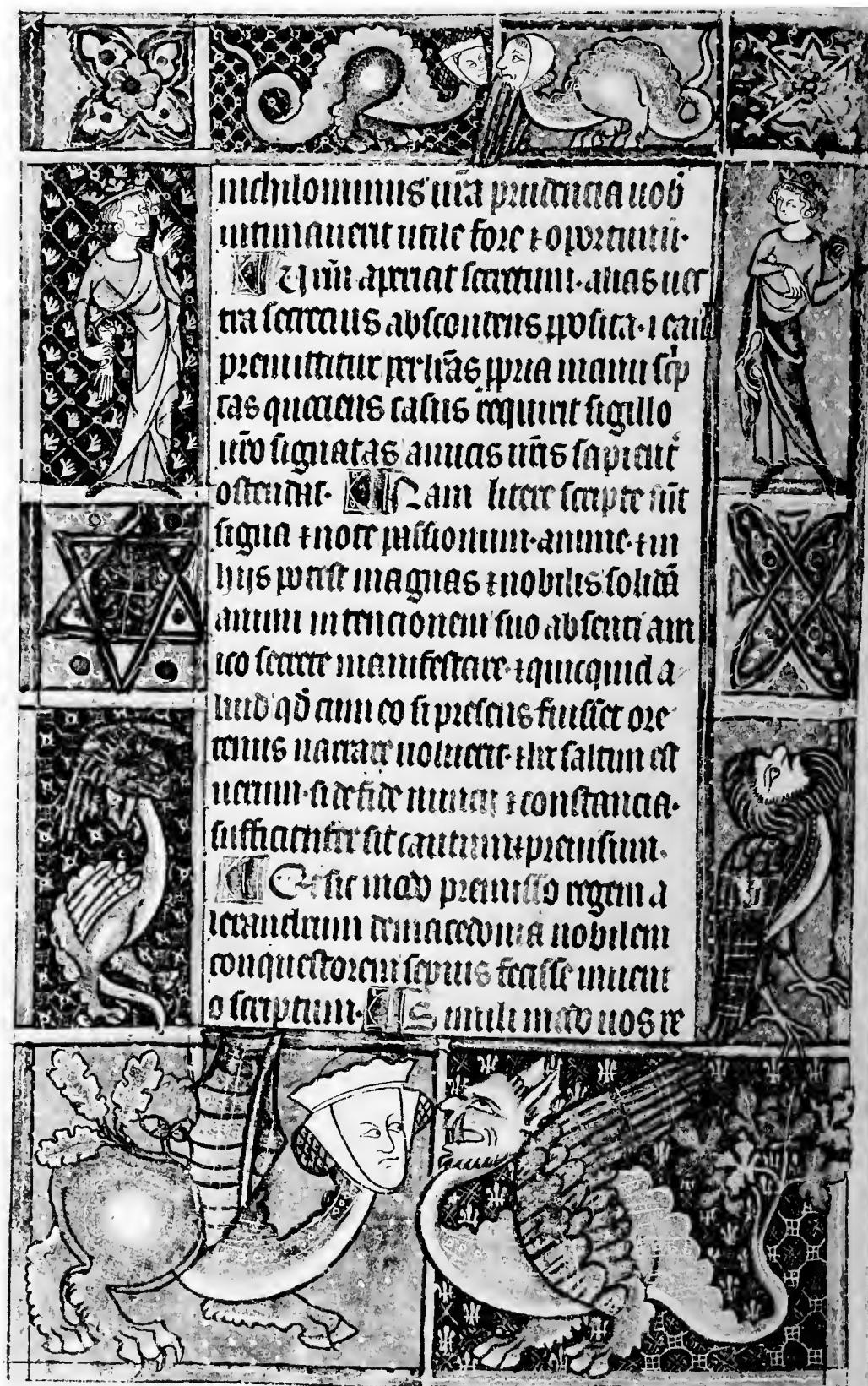


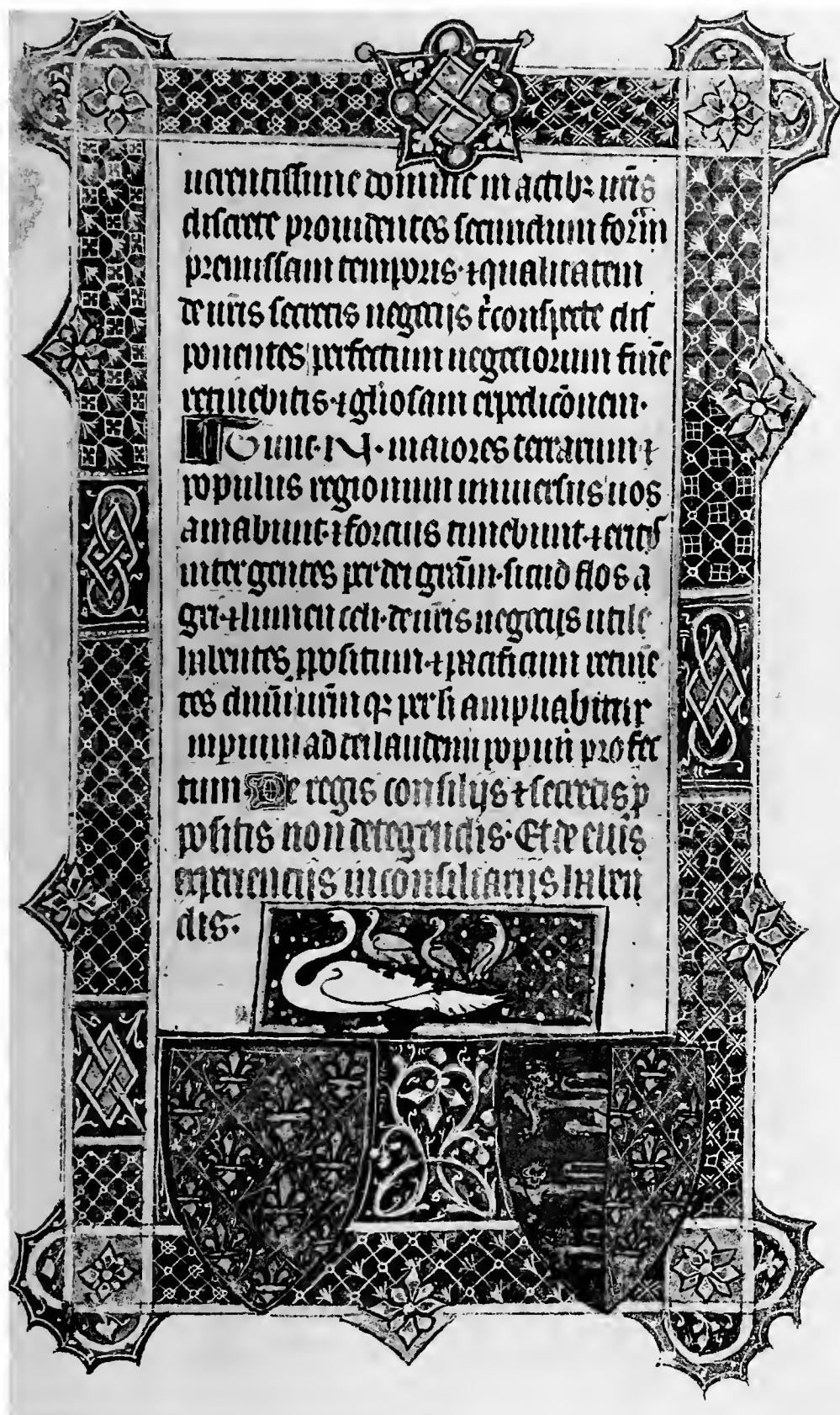




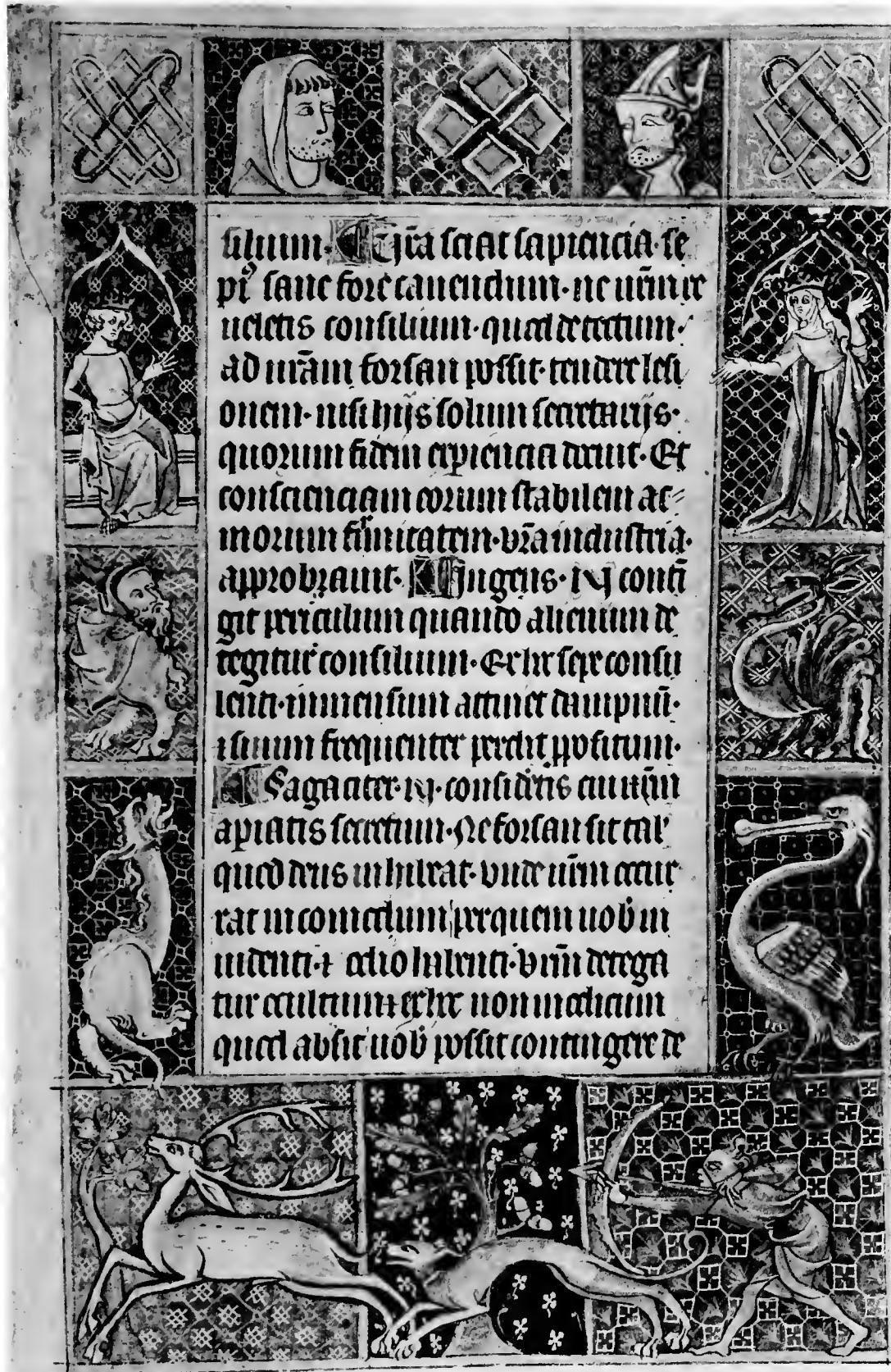


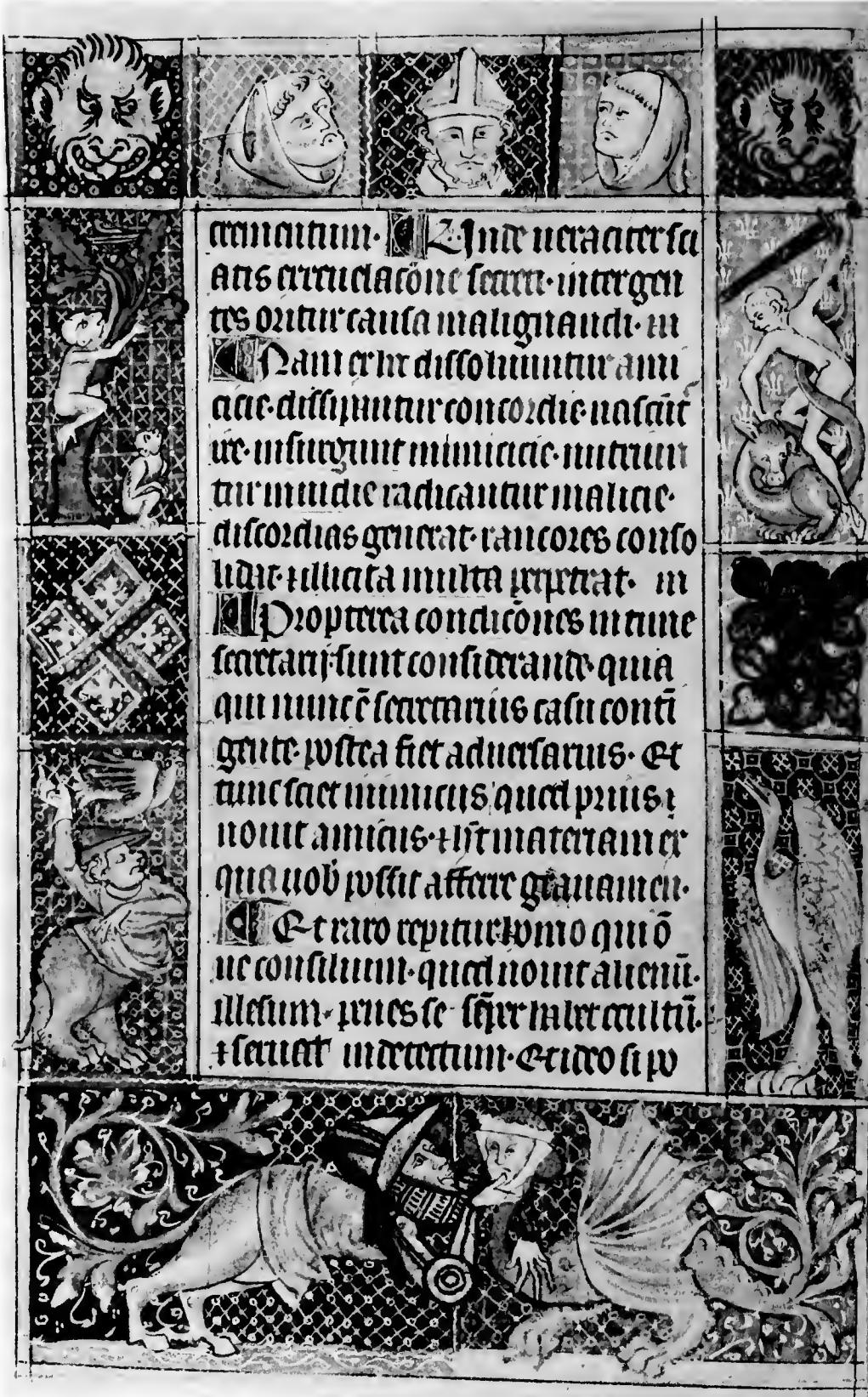




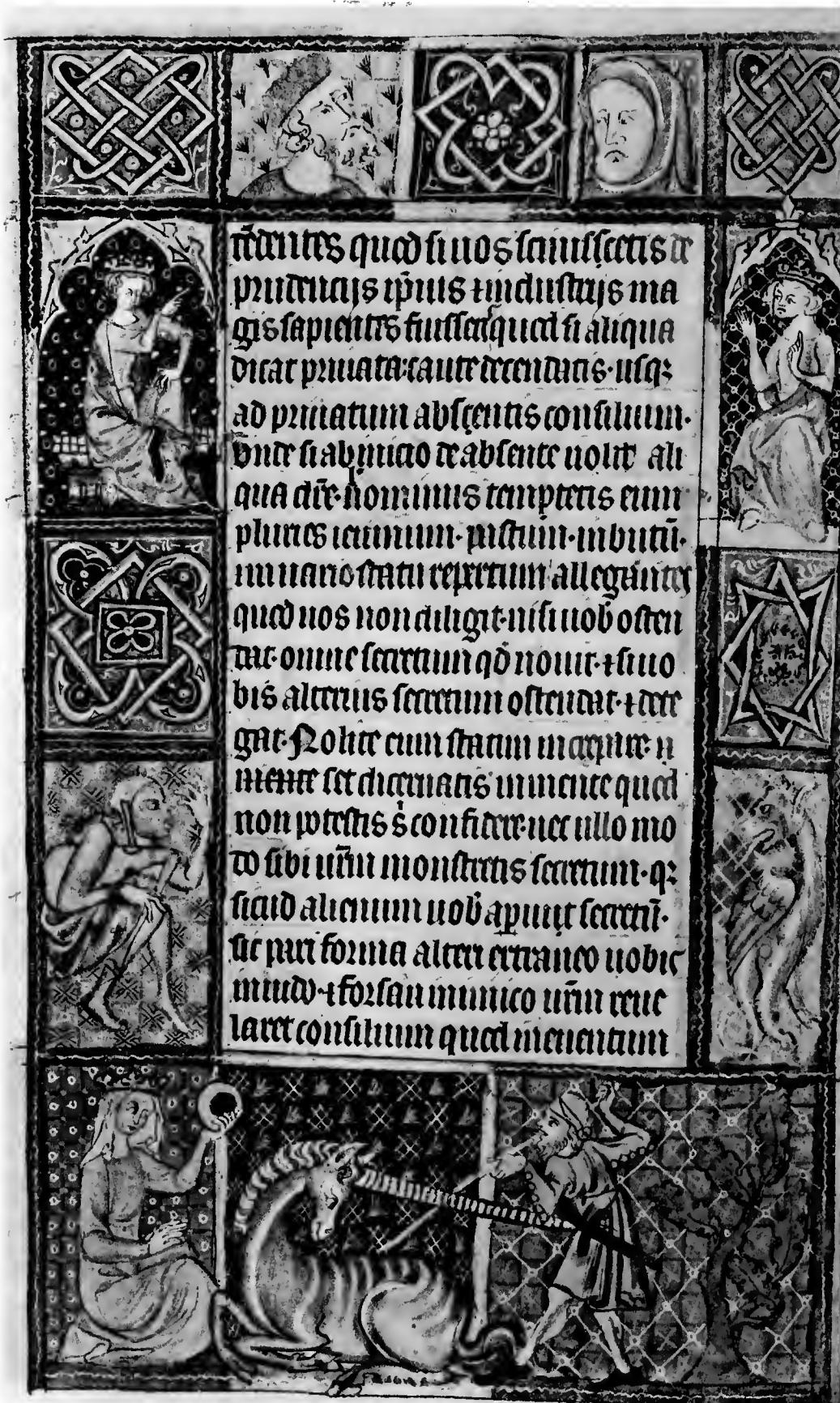




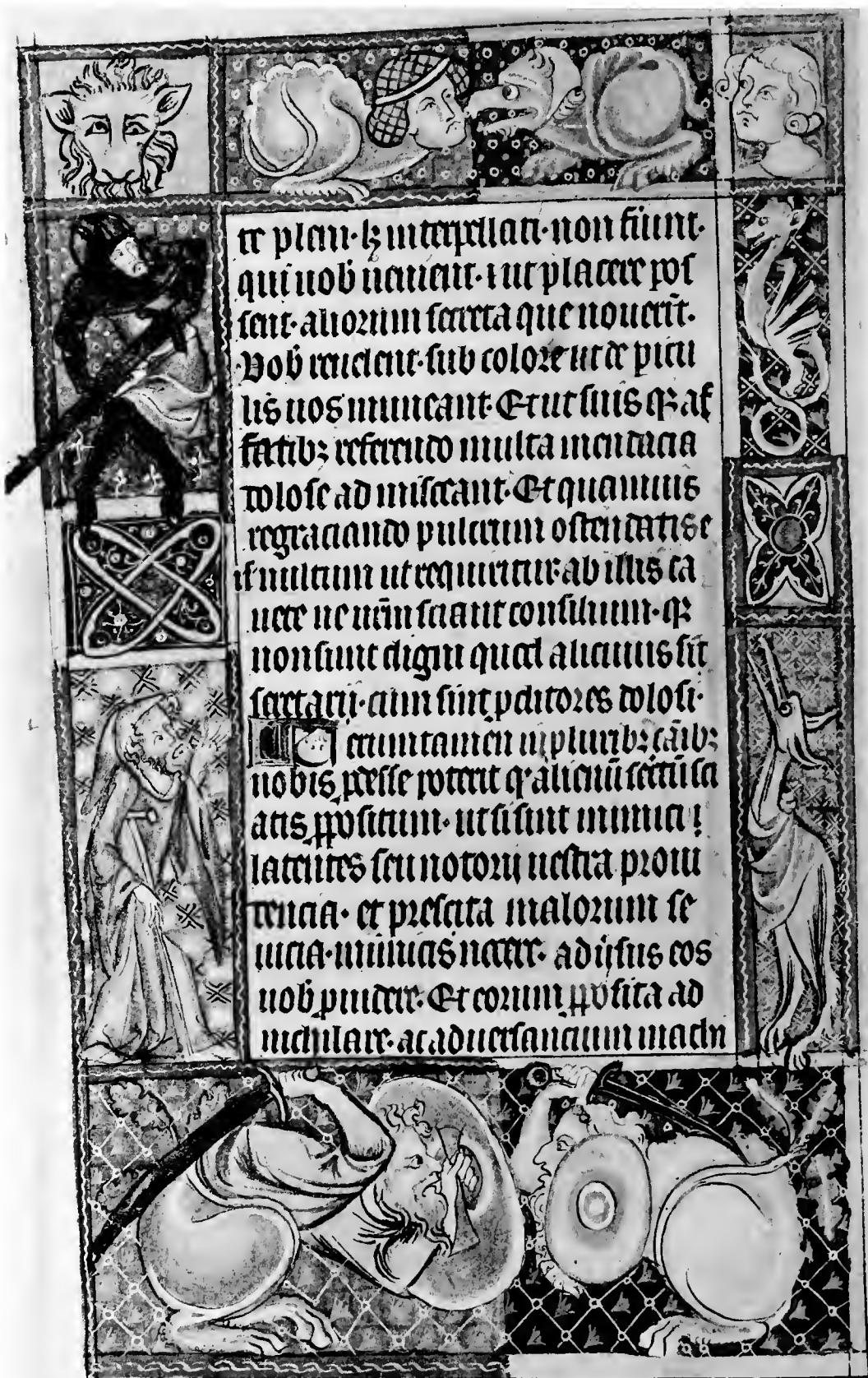




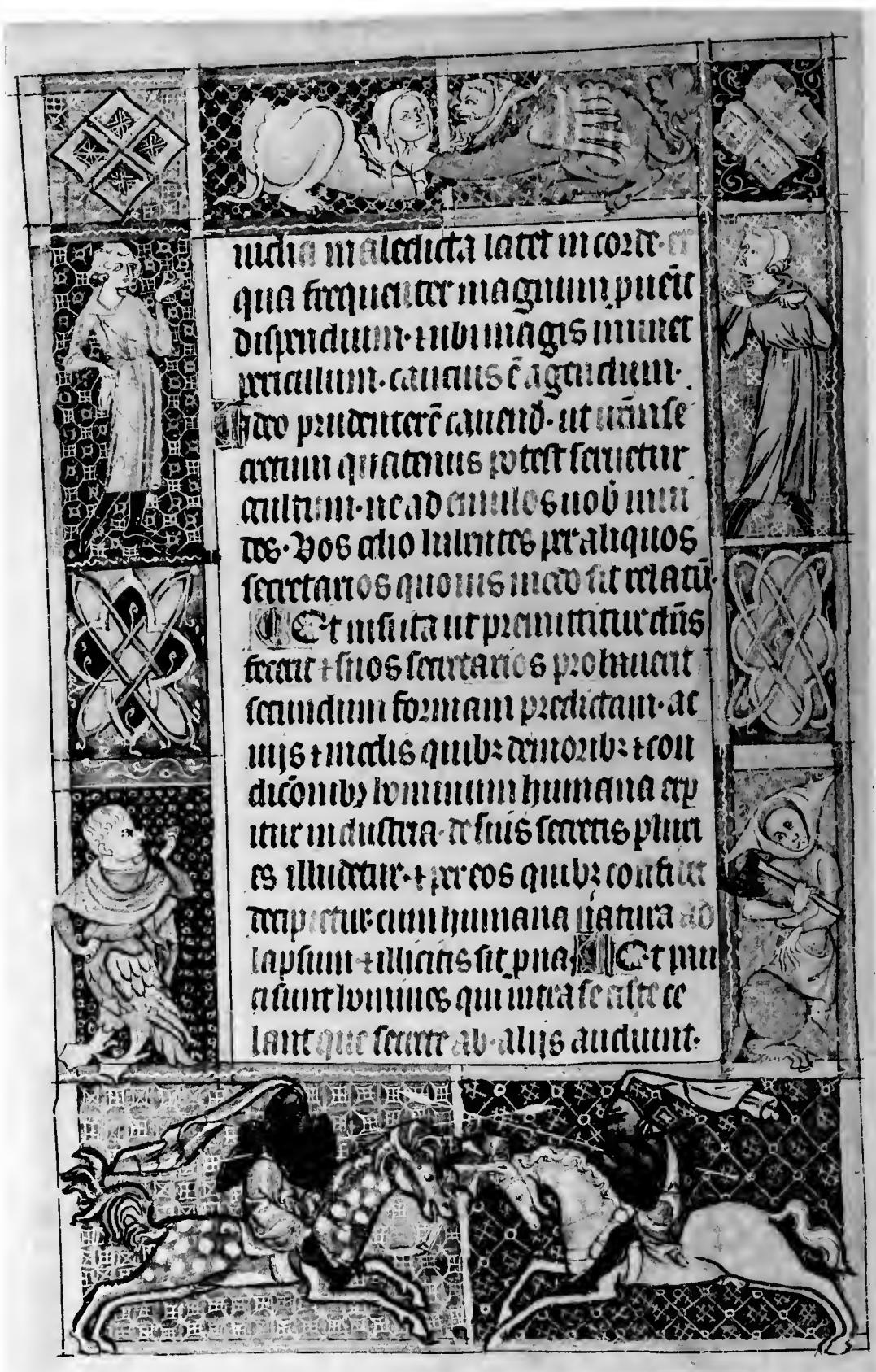


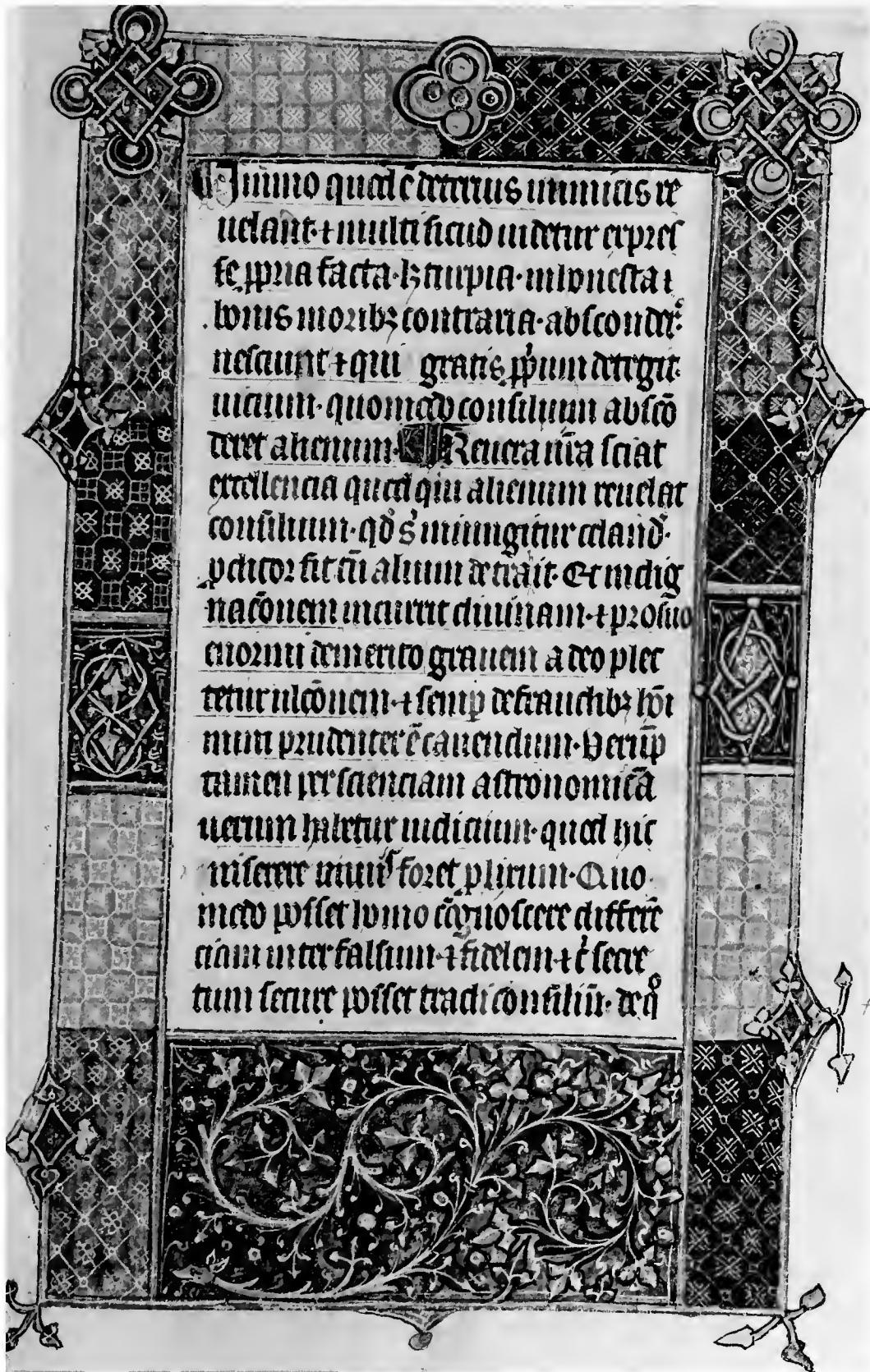


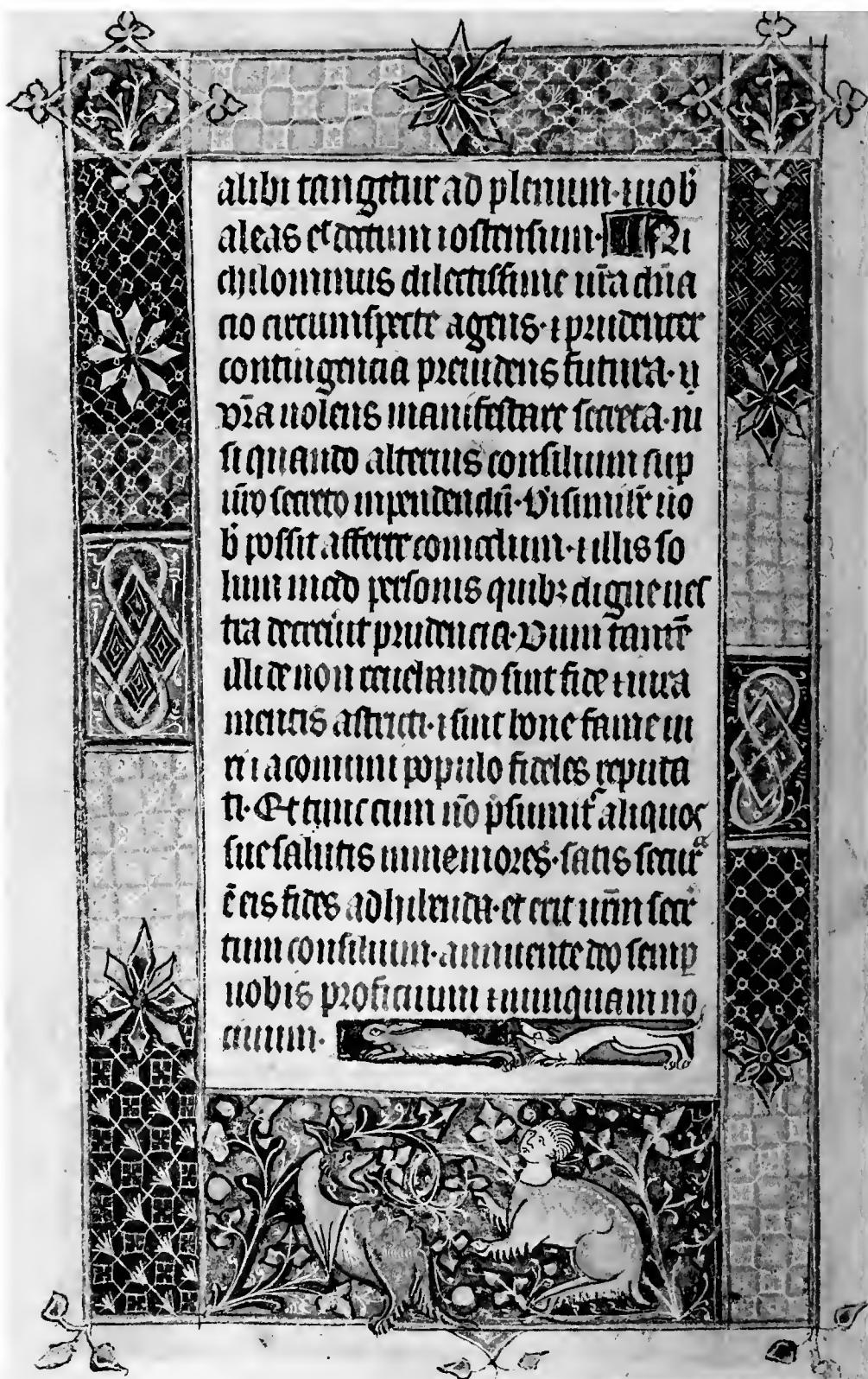




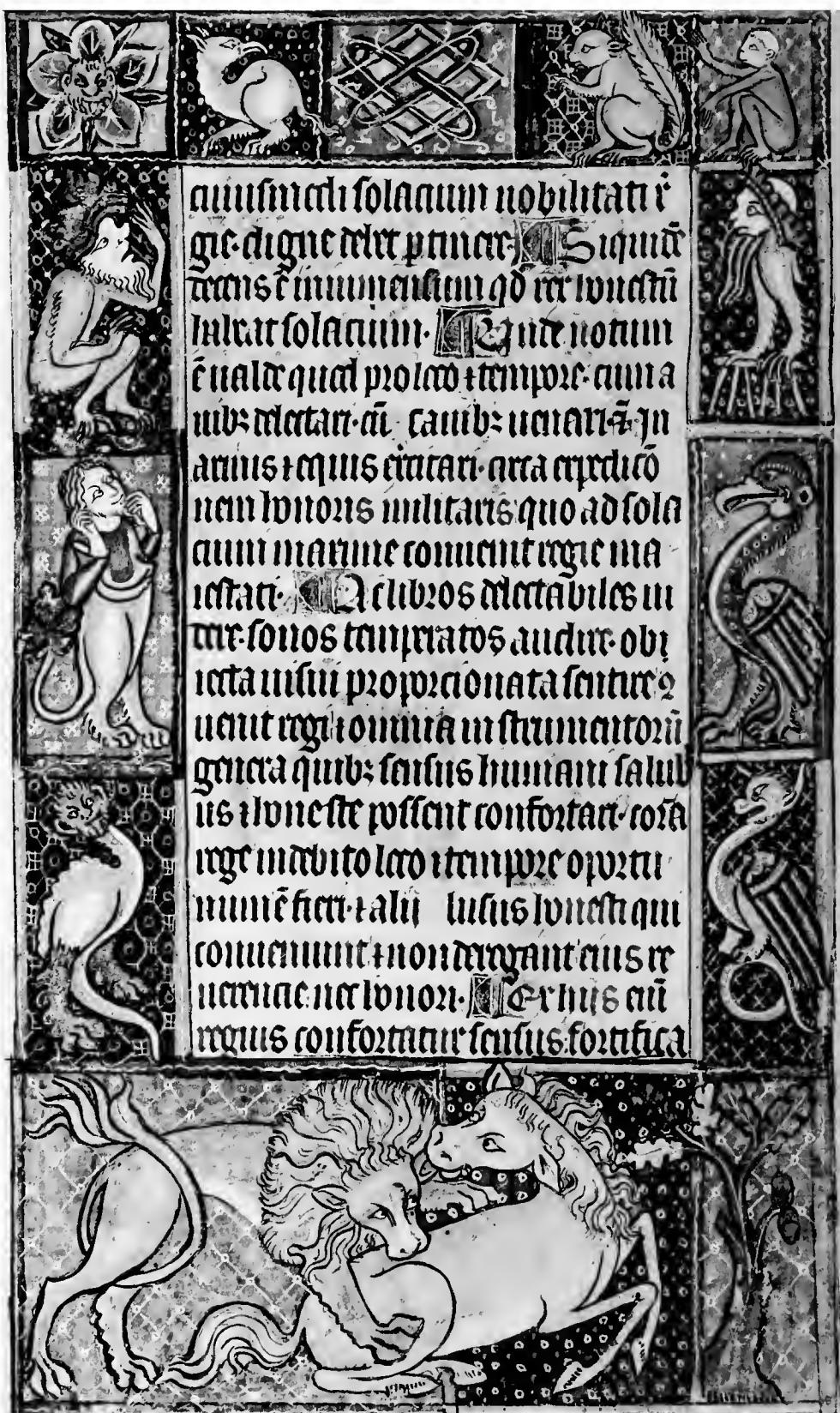










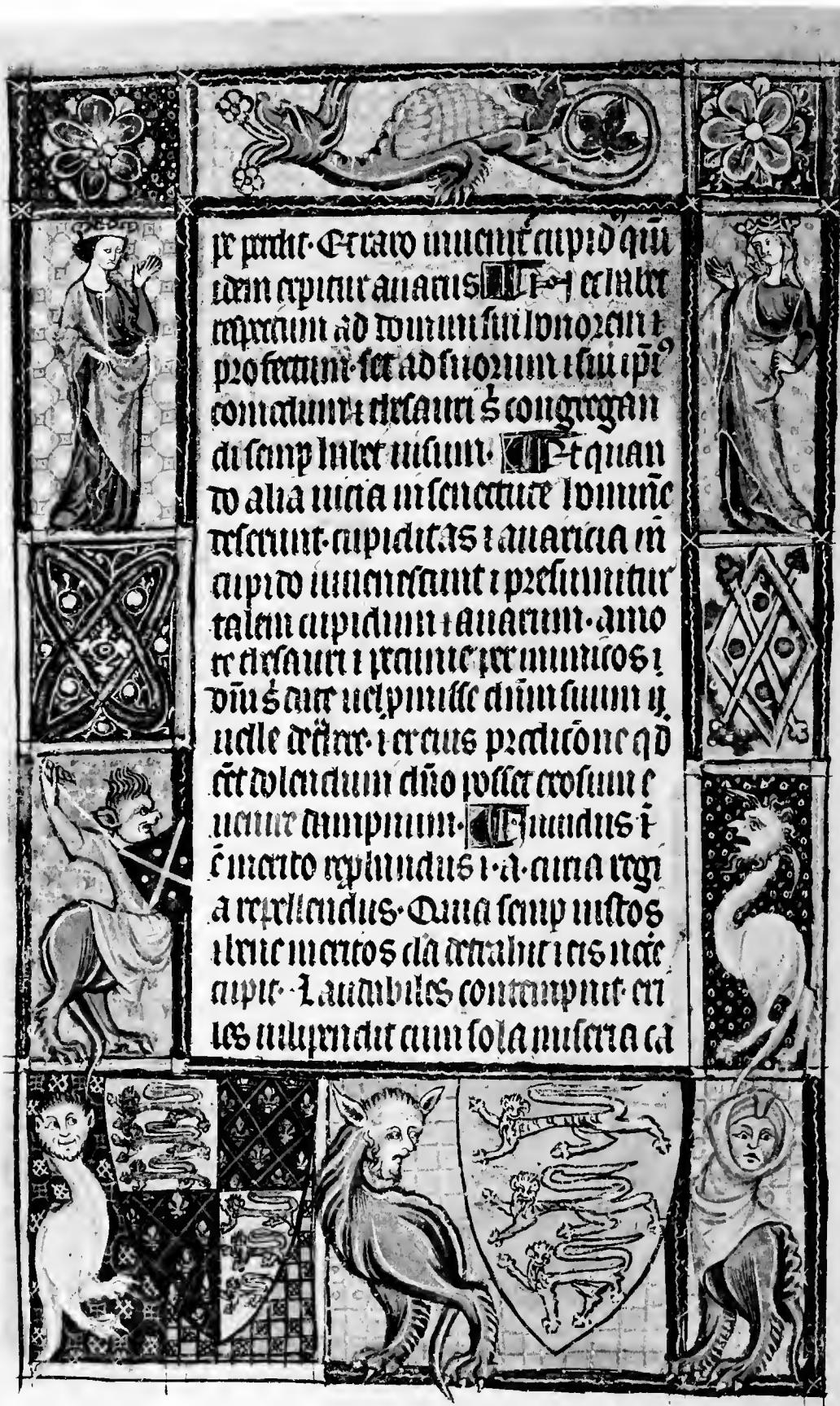


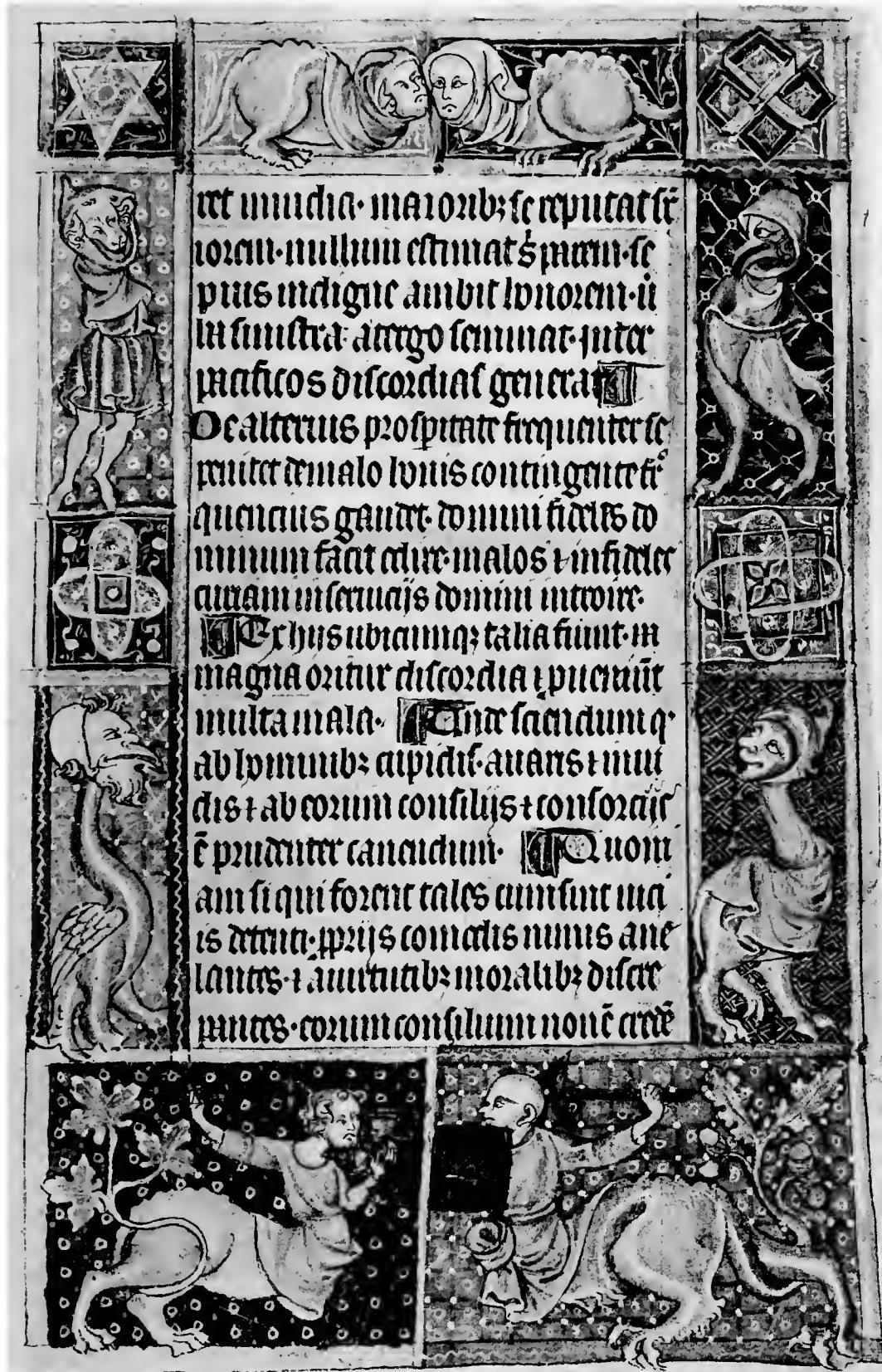




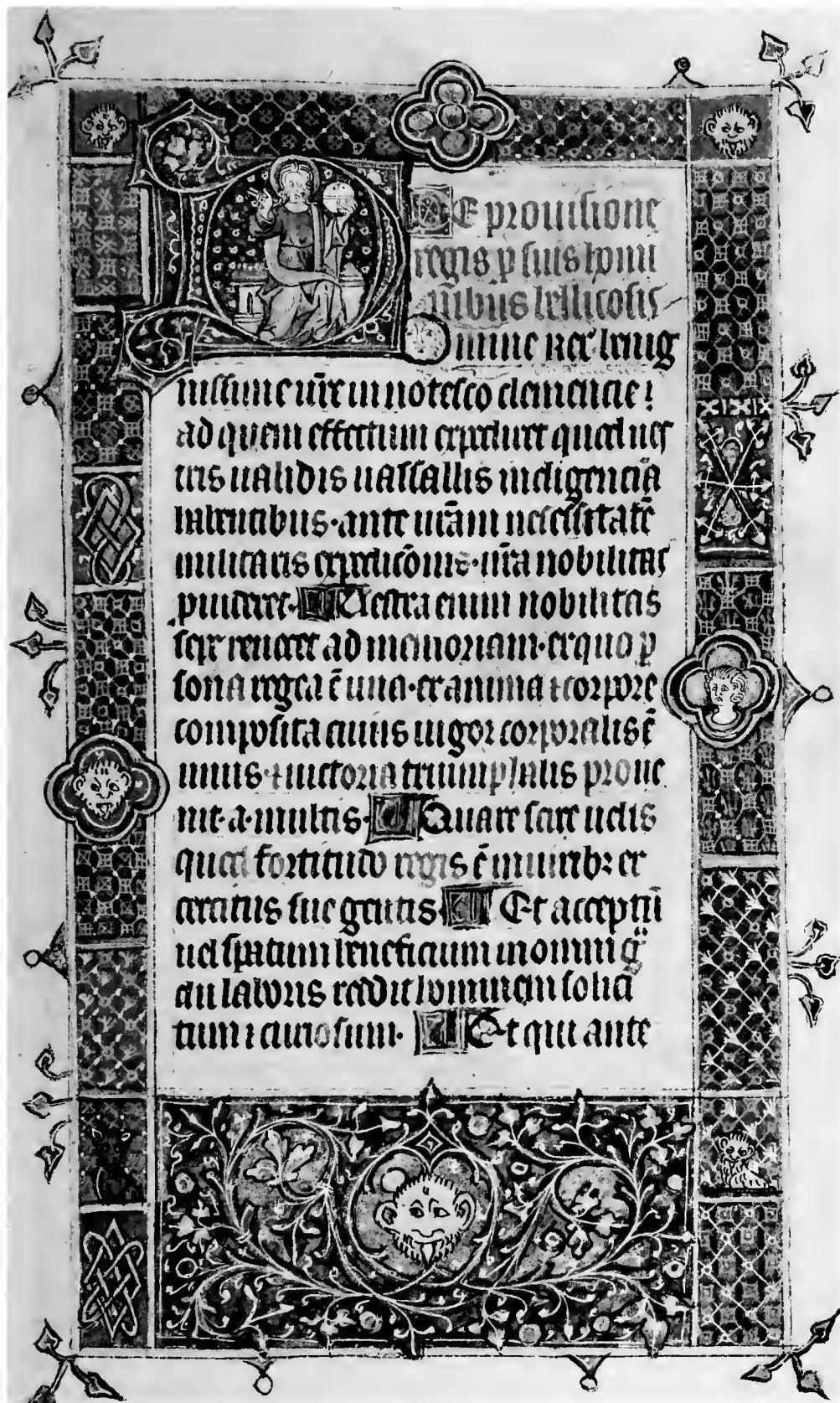


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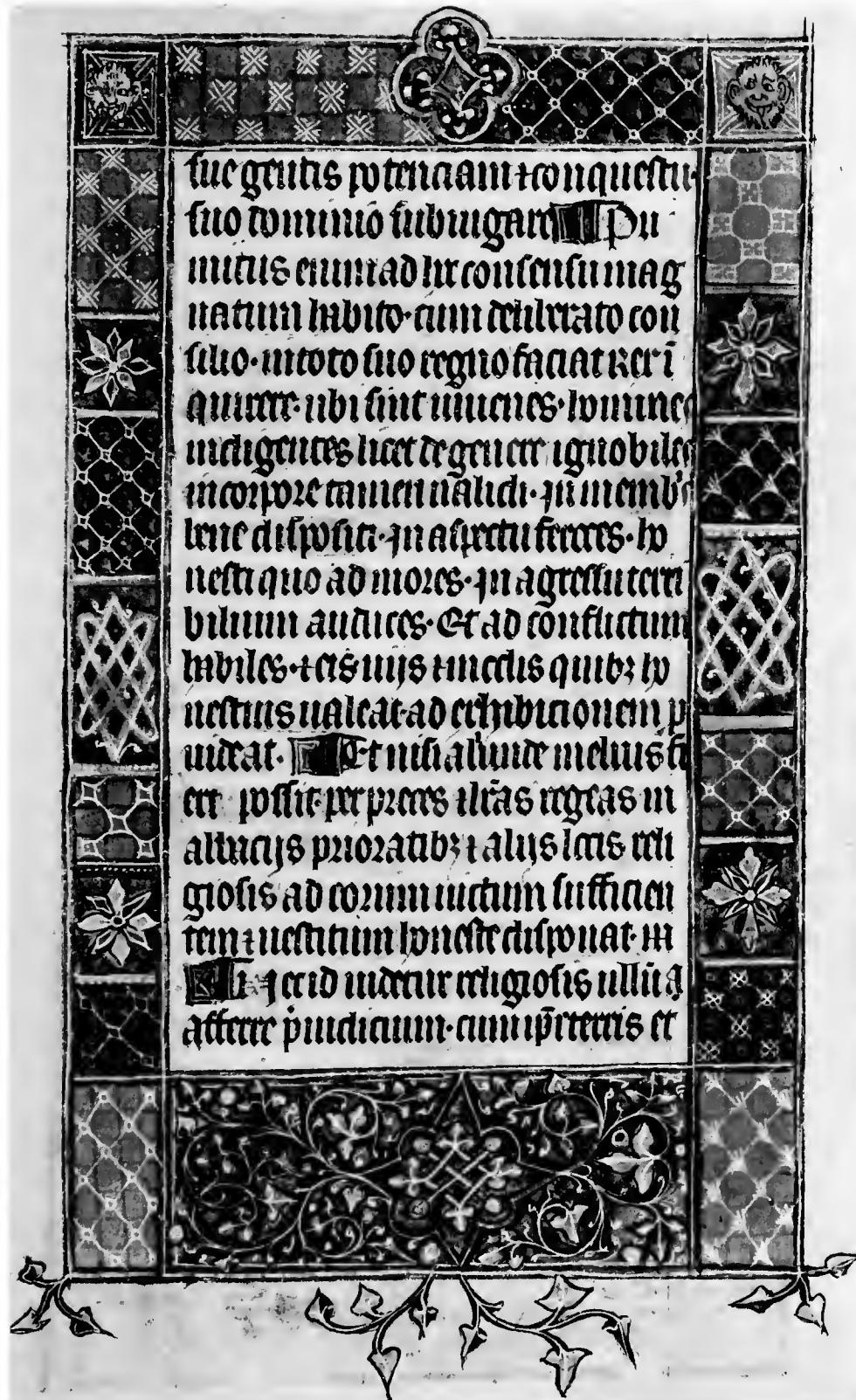


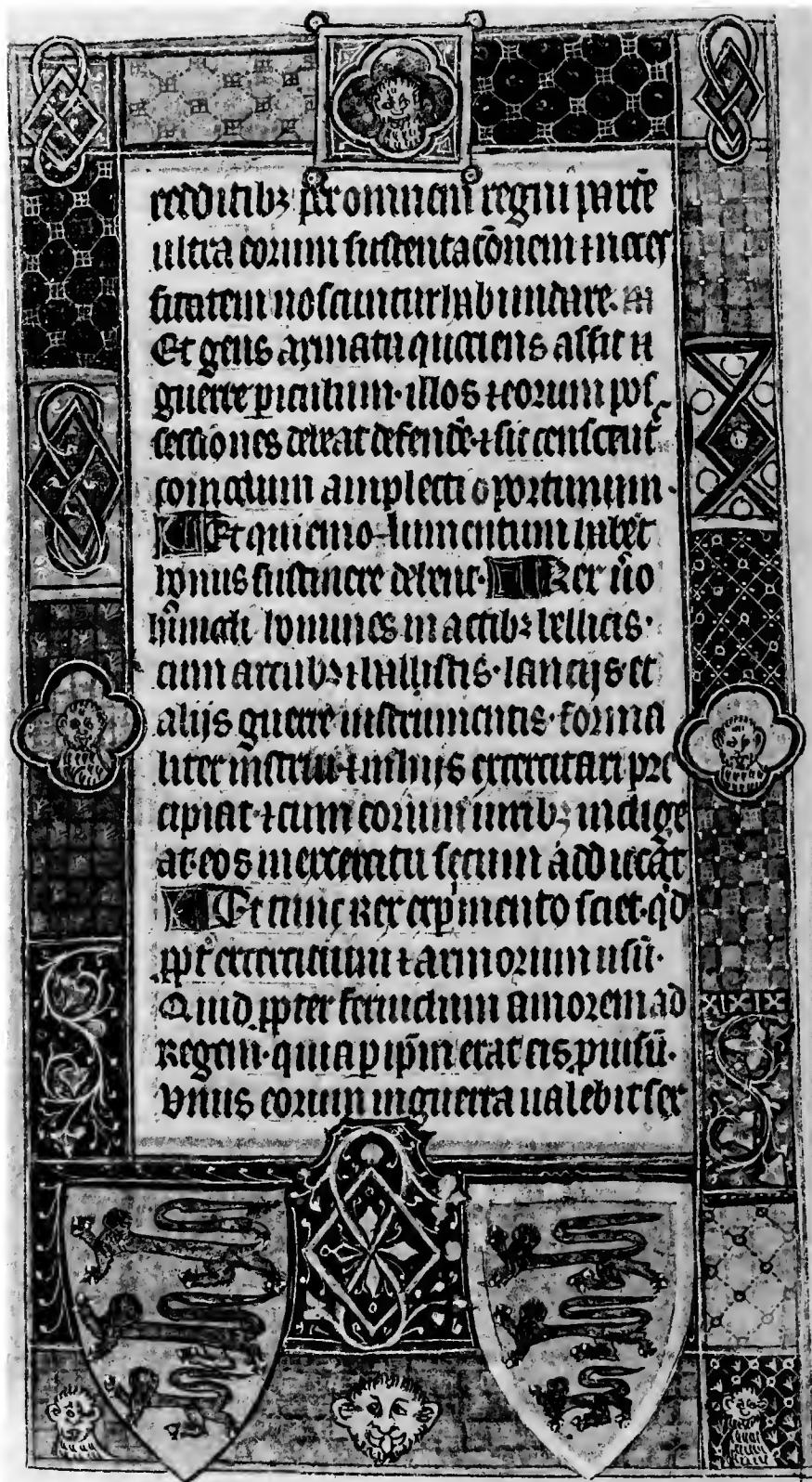








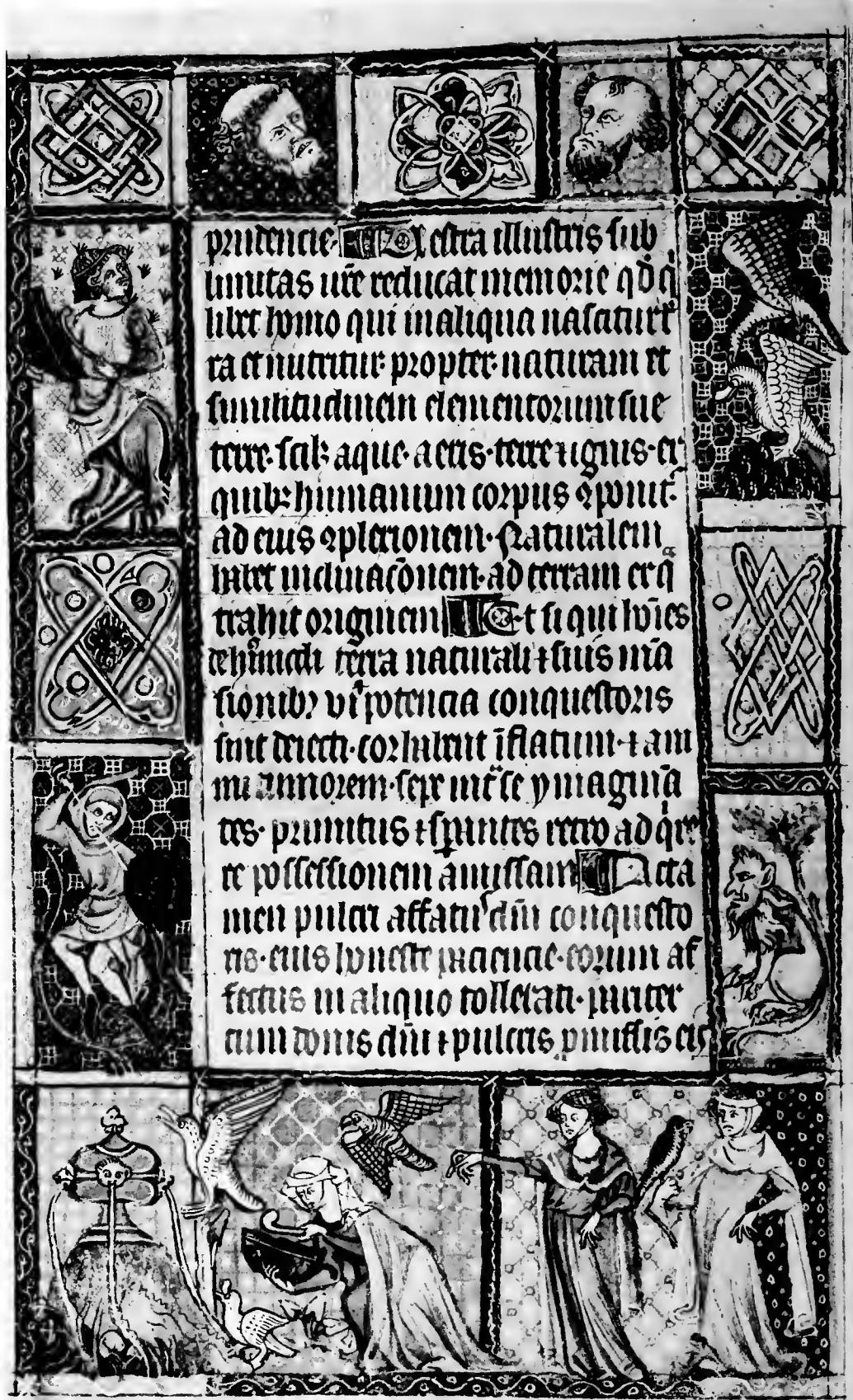


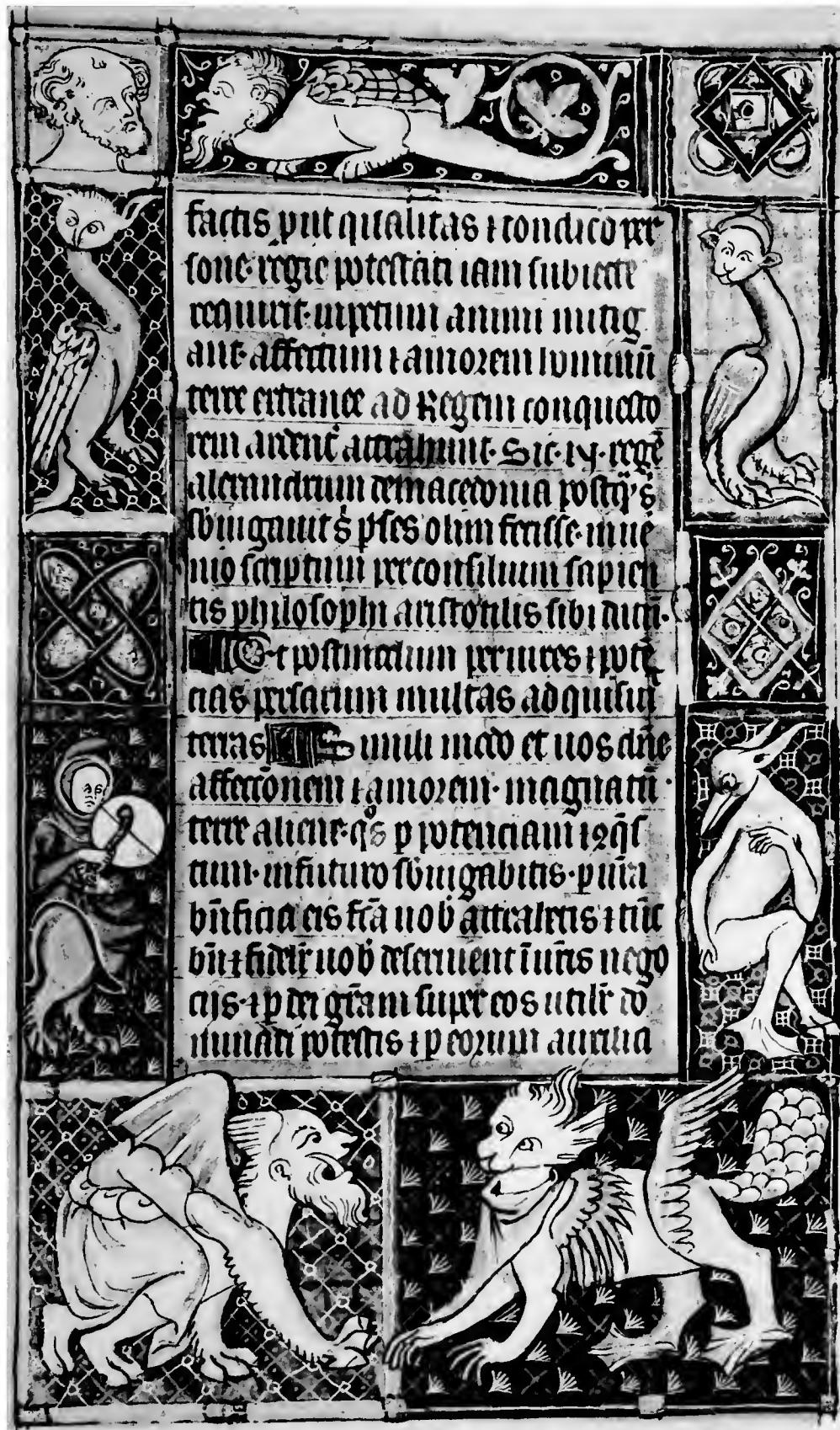


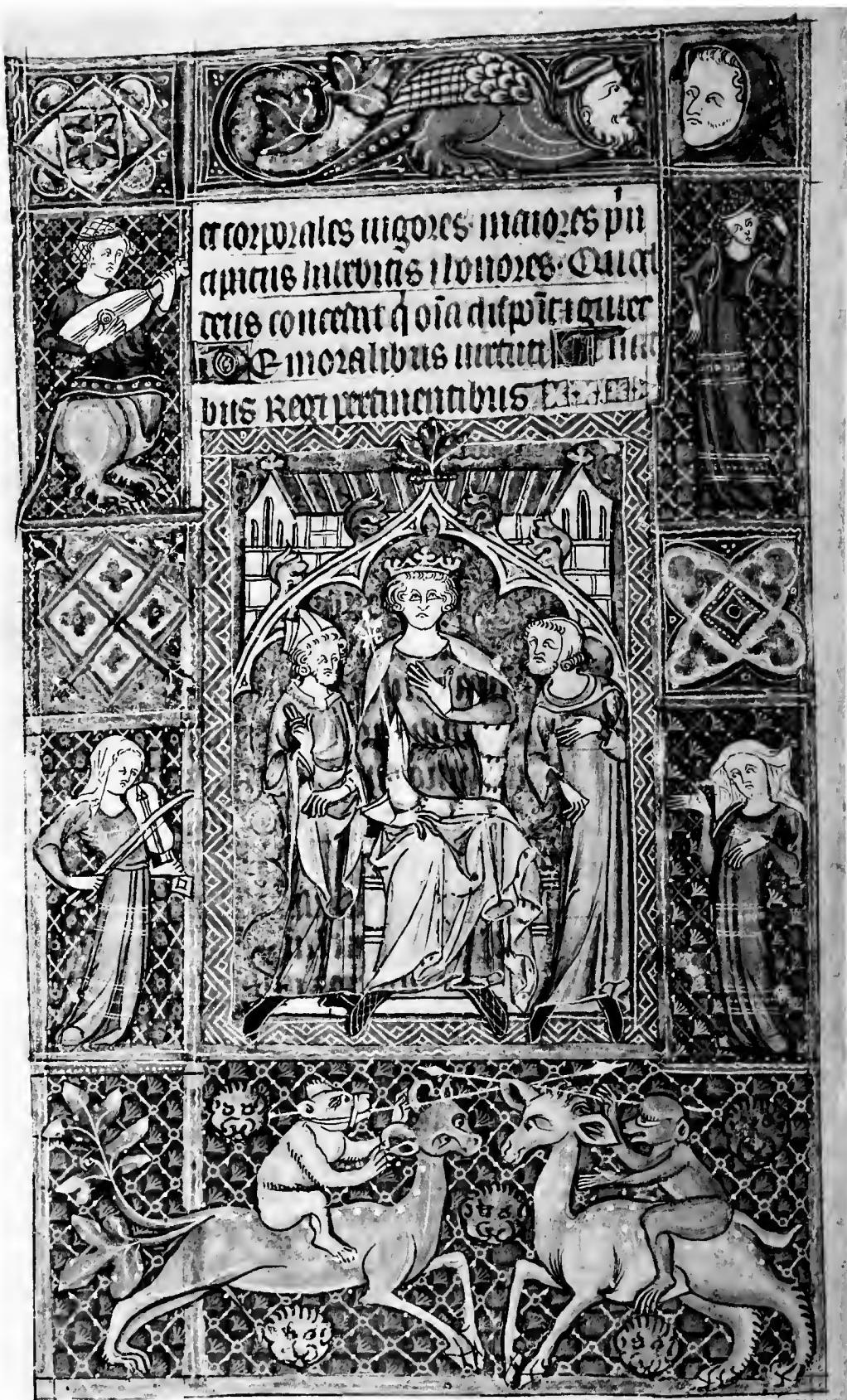


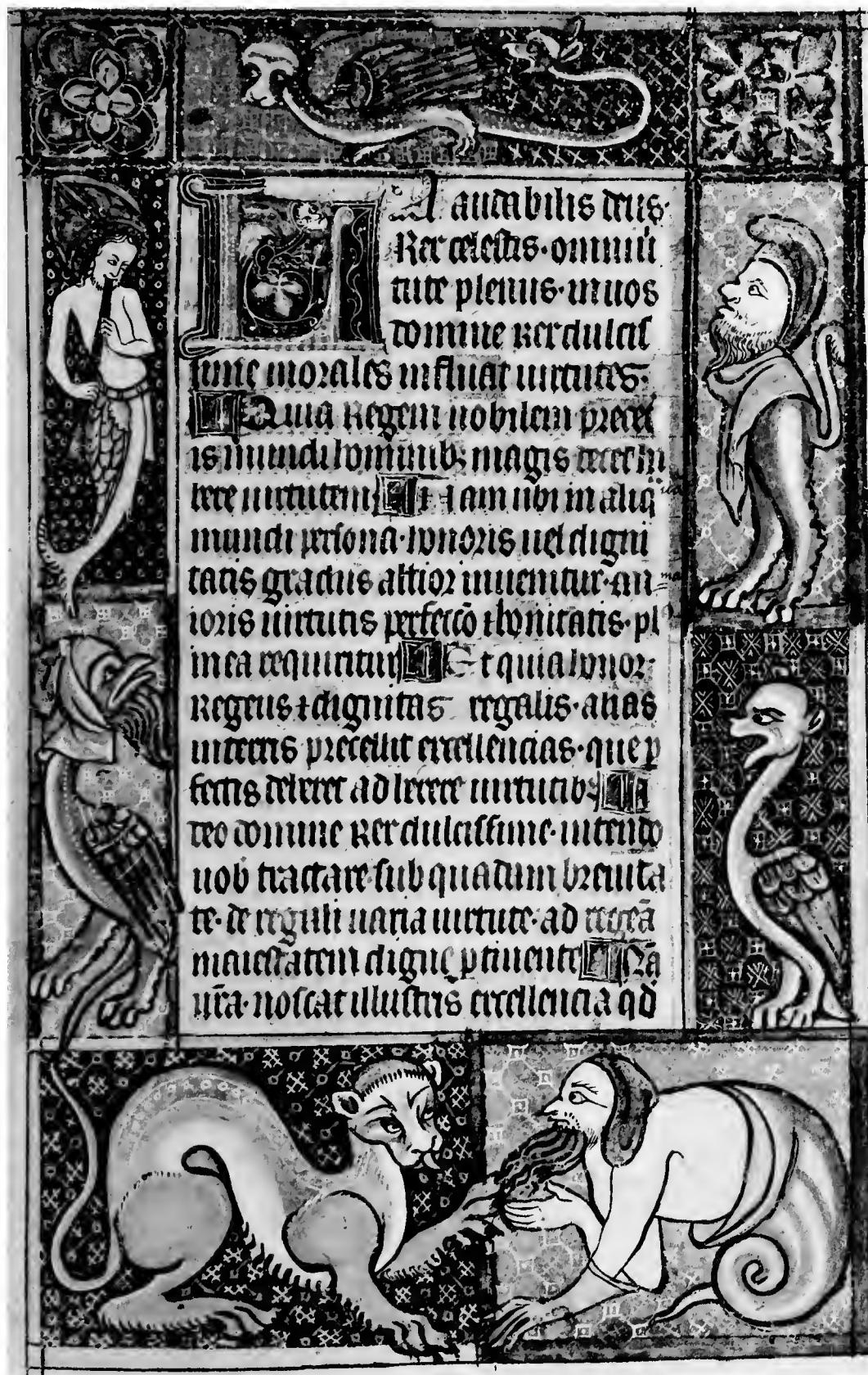


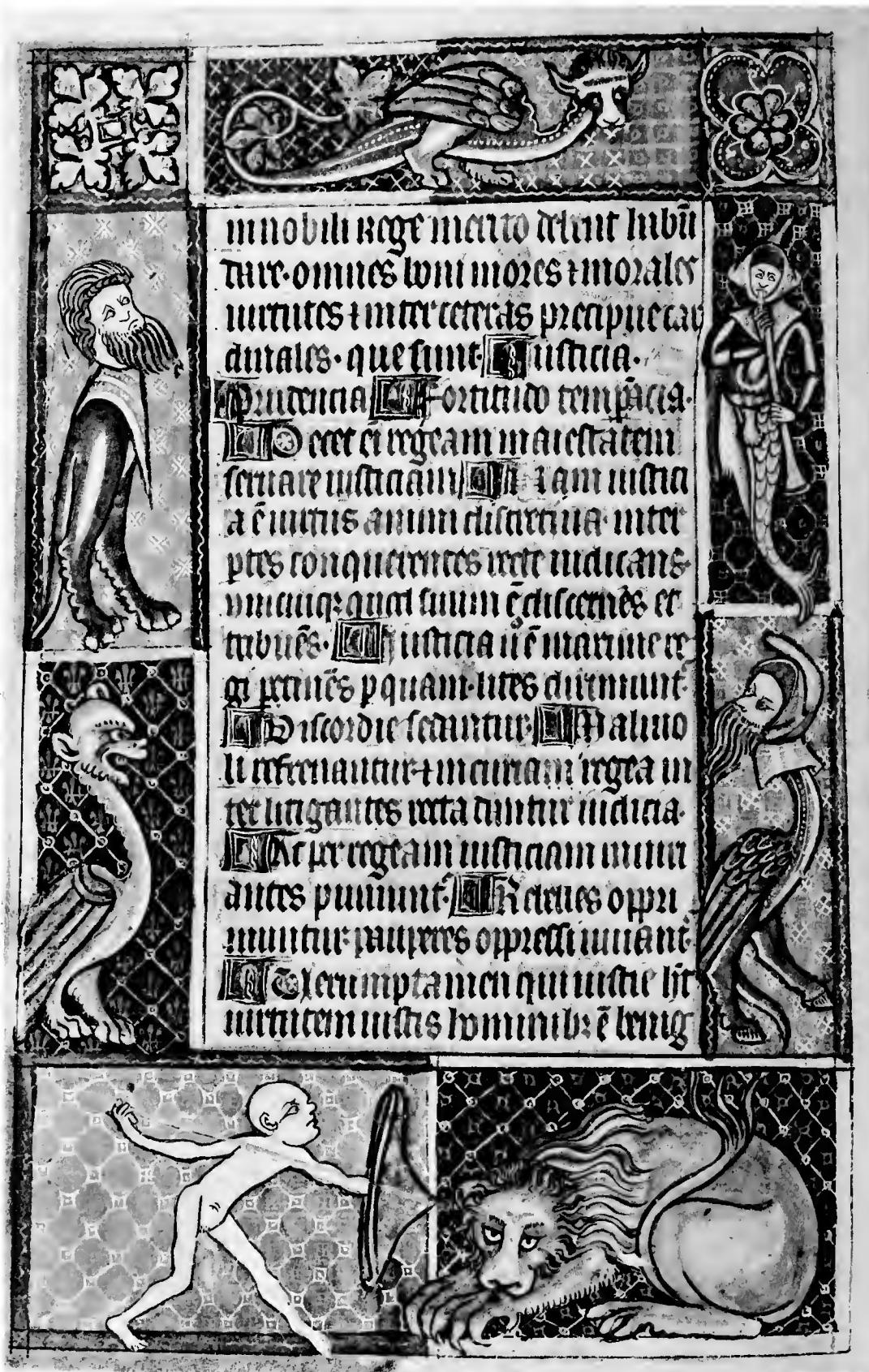


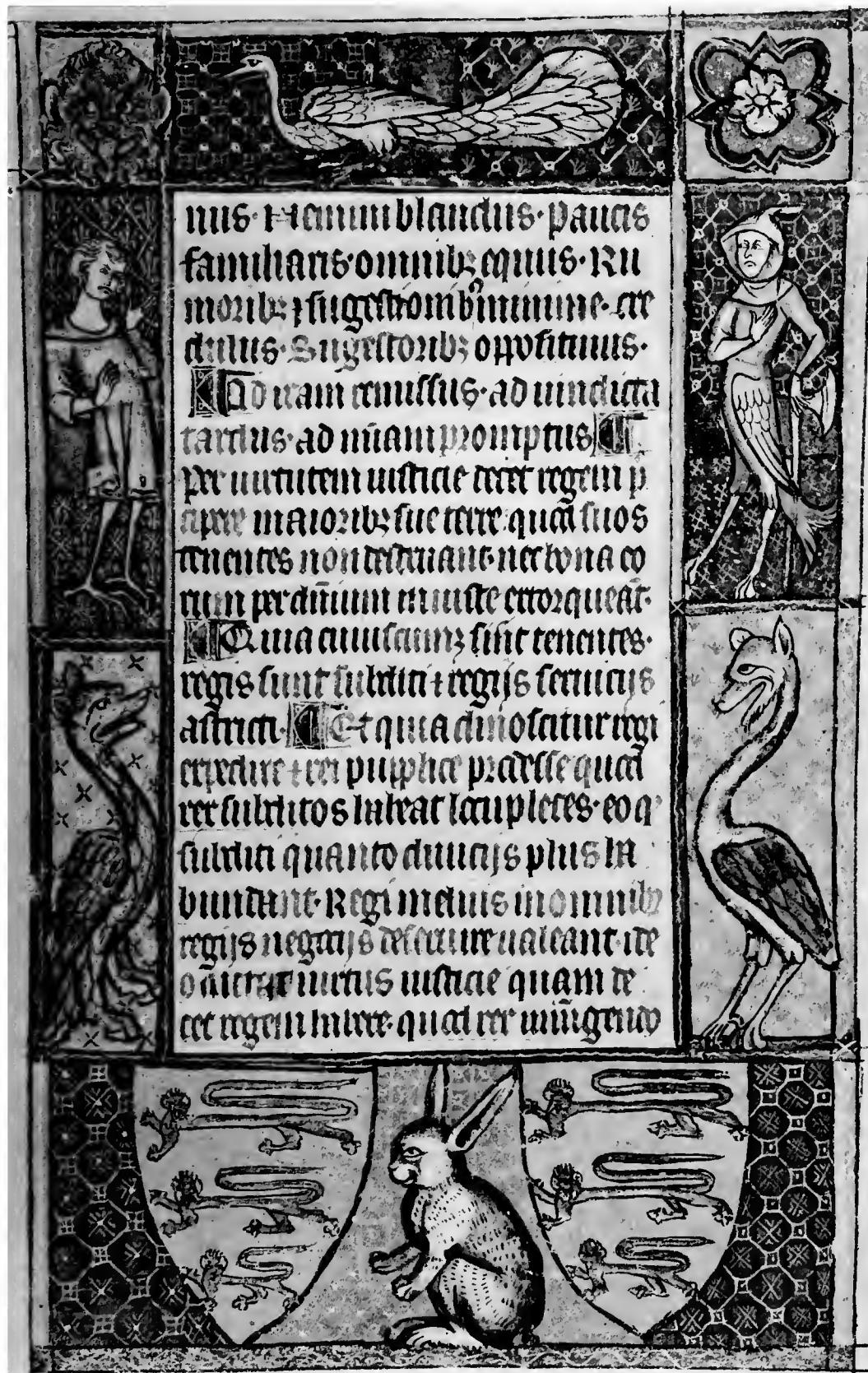


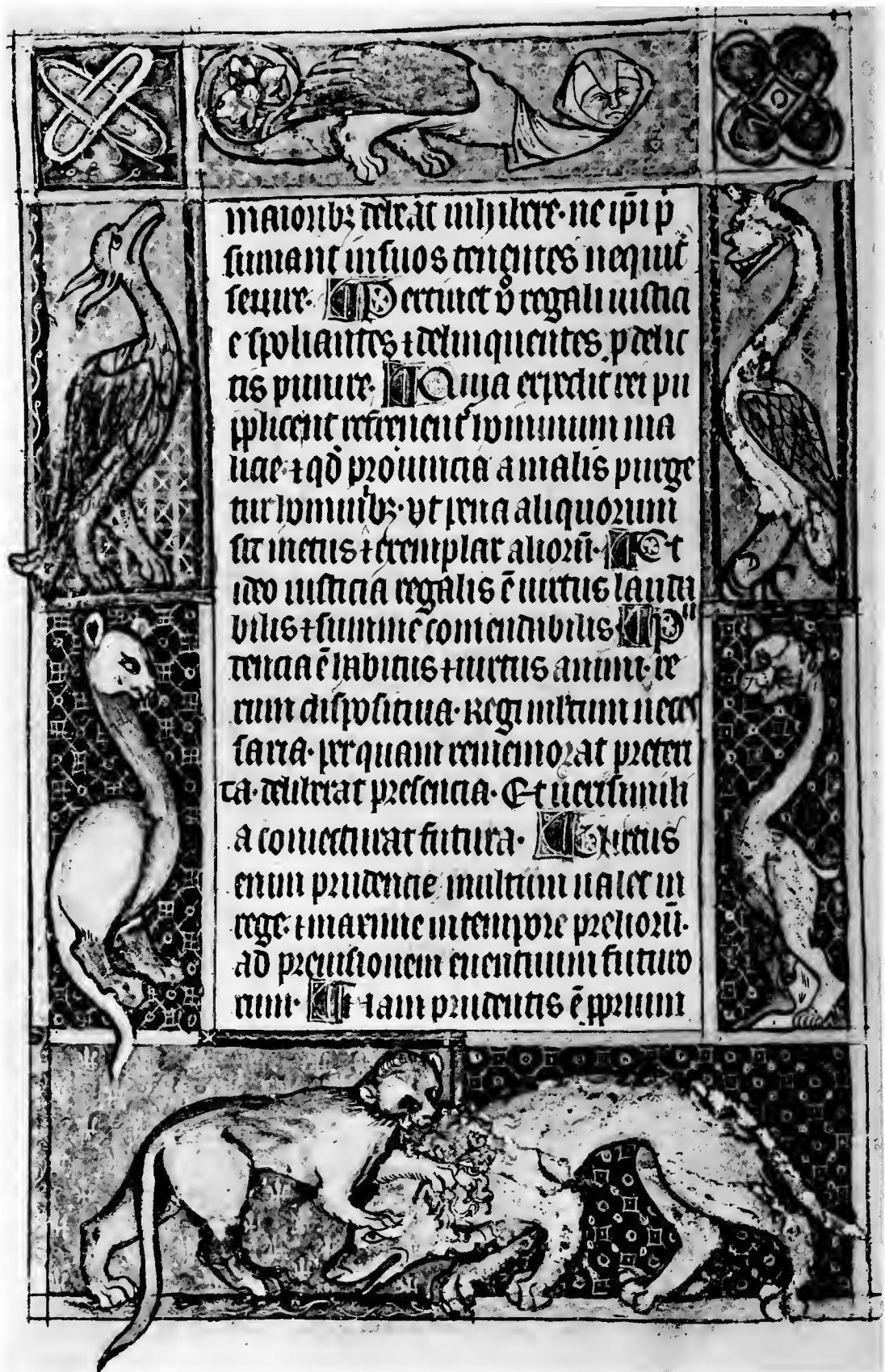






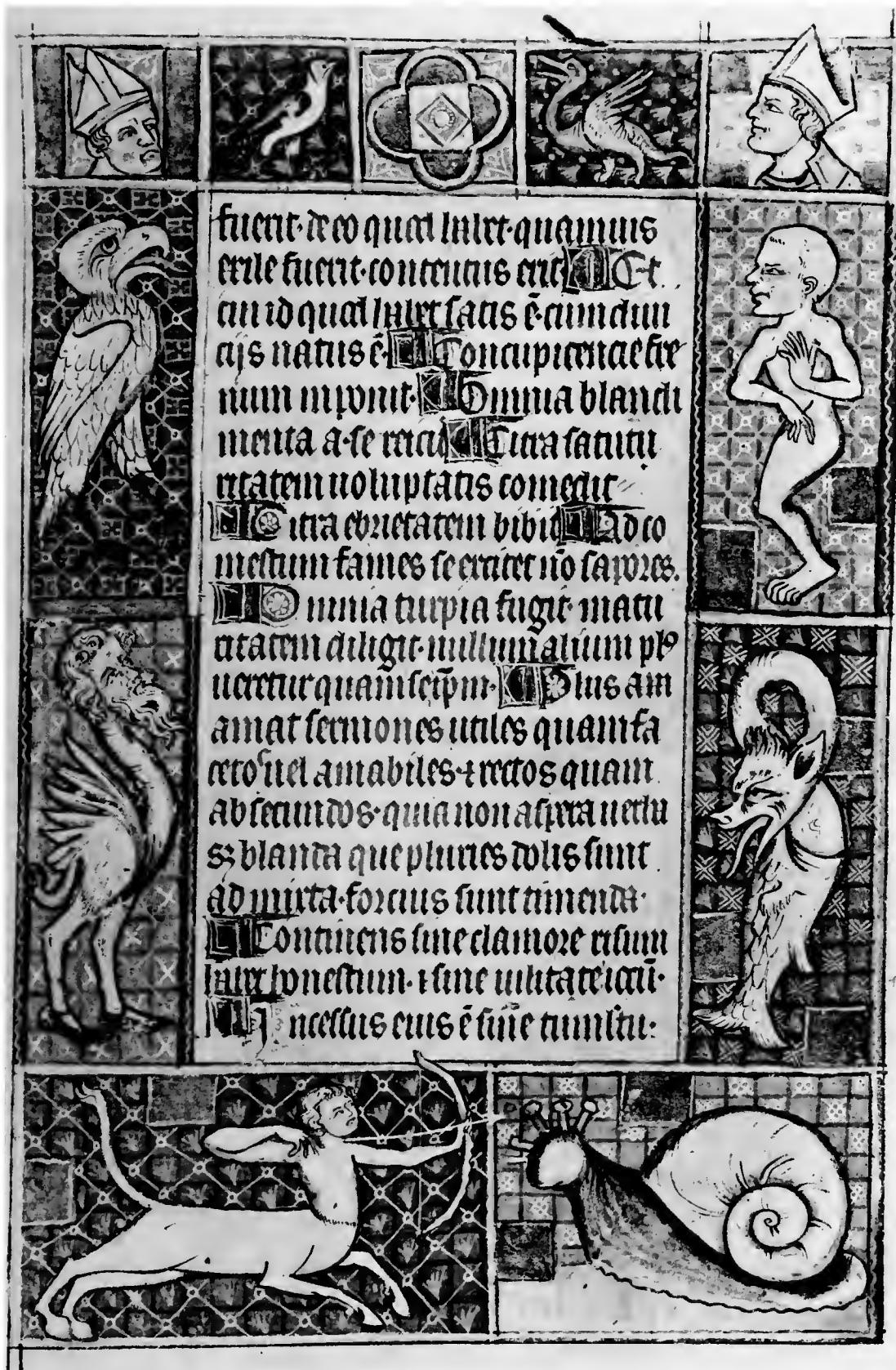


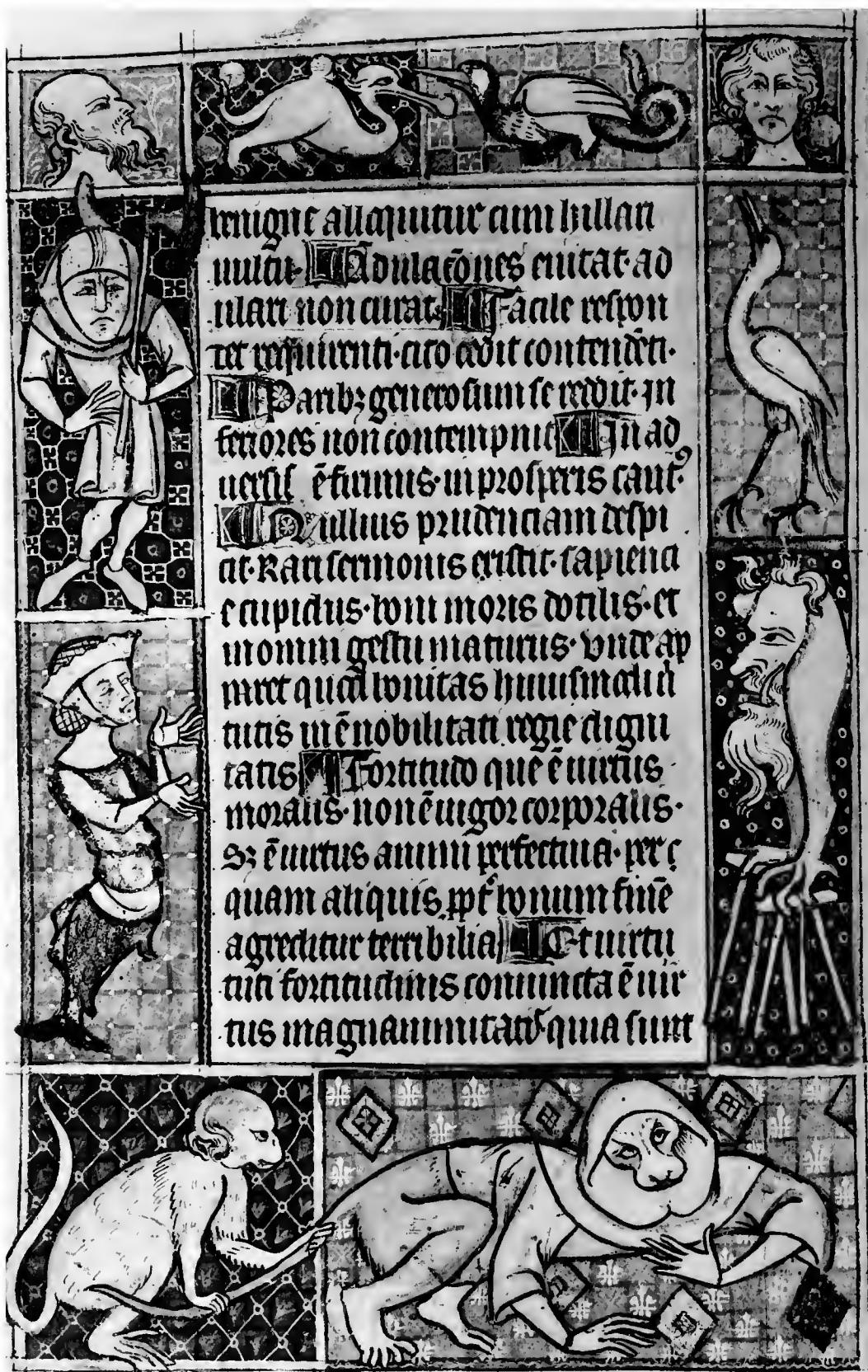




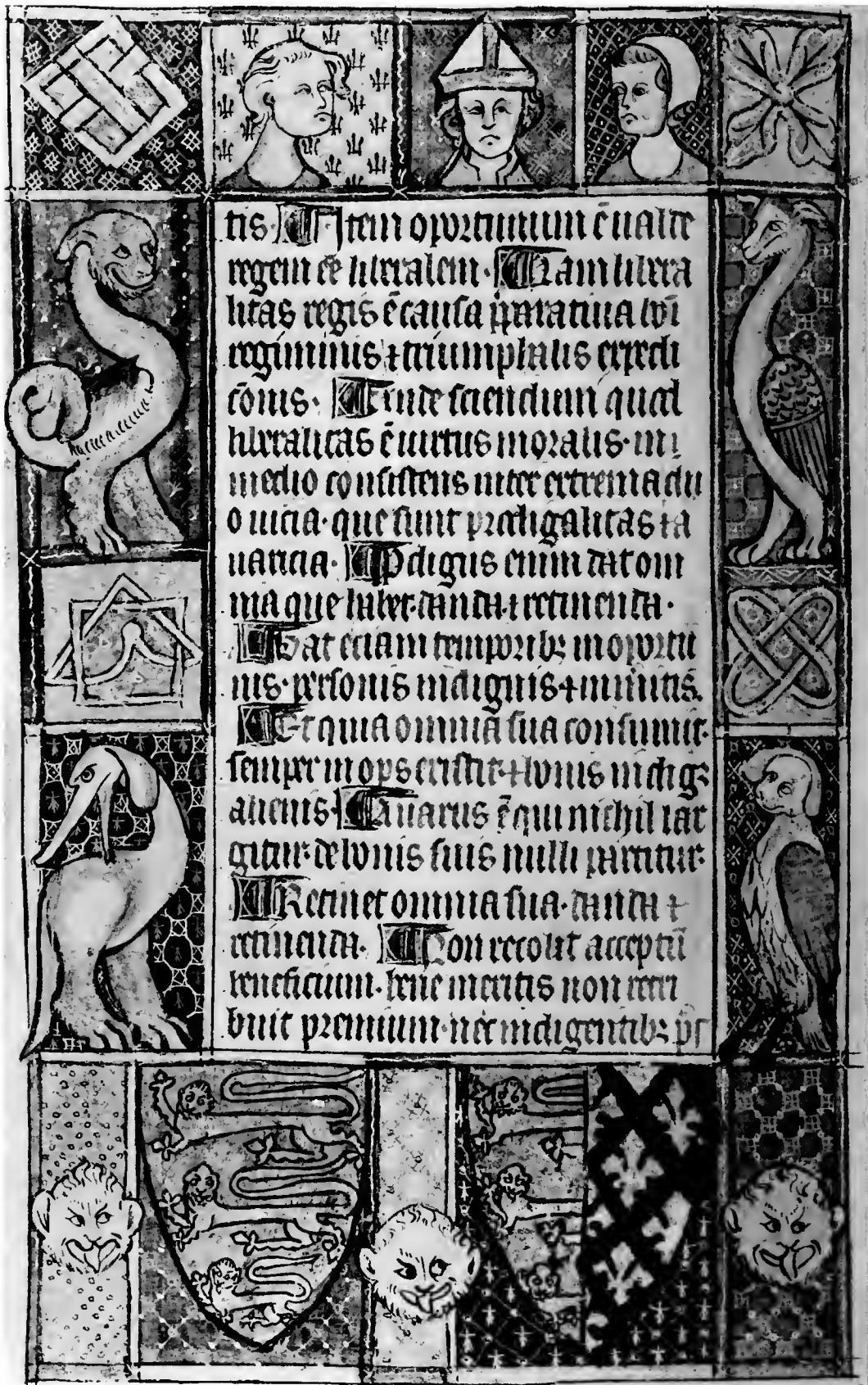




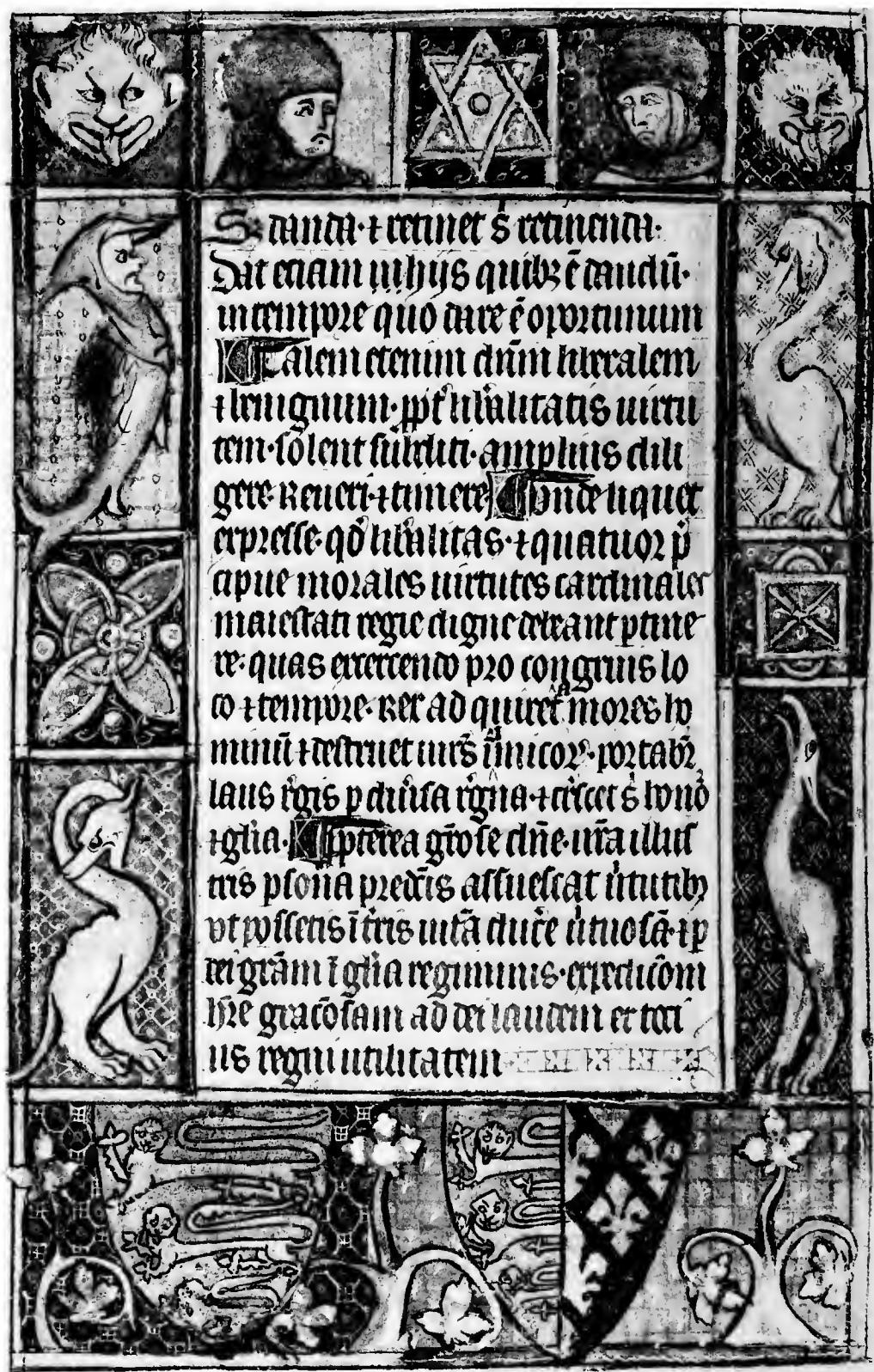








tat aurilium. sed auaricie et cupi-
 diis continue amplectitur uicium.
 Et propterea plurib; se reddit ero-
 sum. et pro parvo perdit magnum.
Ecce uera inter istos criminulos
 illustris dominus liberalis medi-
 um tenet lacum. utrumq; prefatu
 spernens uicium. **H**am liberalitas
 est uirtus moralis per quam quis de-
 bonis suis dat danda et retinet et re-
 tine da. **A**c tribuit lene merentib;
Subuenit dignis et indigena-
 bus. **L**iberalis enim personas co-
 siderat et tempora. siquid oportet et perso-
 narum menta. quicquid conferre
 cupit dona. **S**icut etiam quia
 tunc et quando e dandum et intuet-
 mores merita et condicōnes homi-
 num. quib; uult largiri donum.
Liberalis siquidem. non datoia



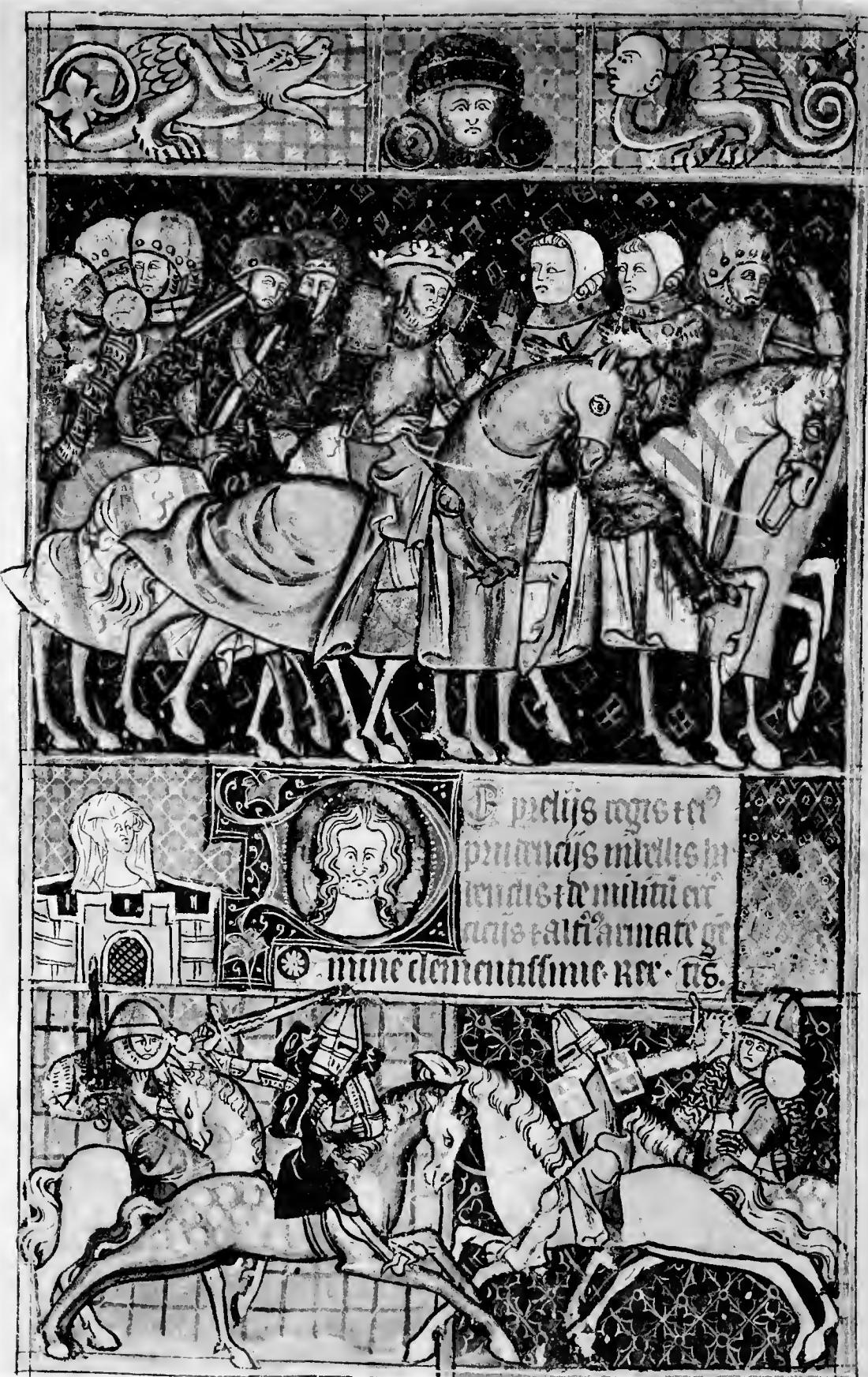


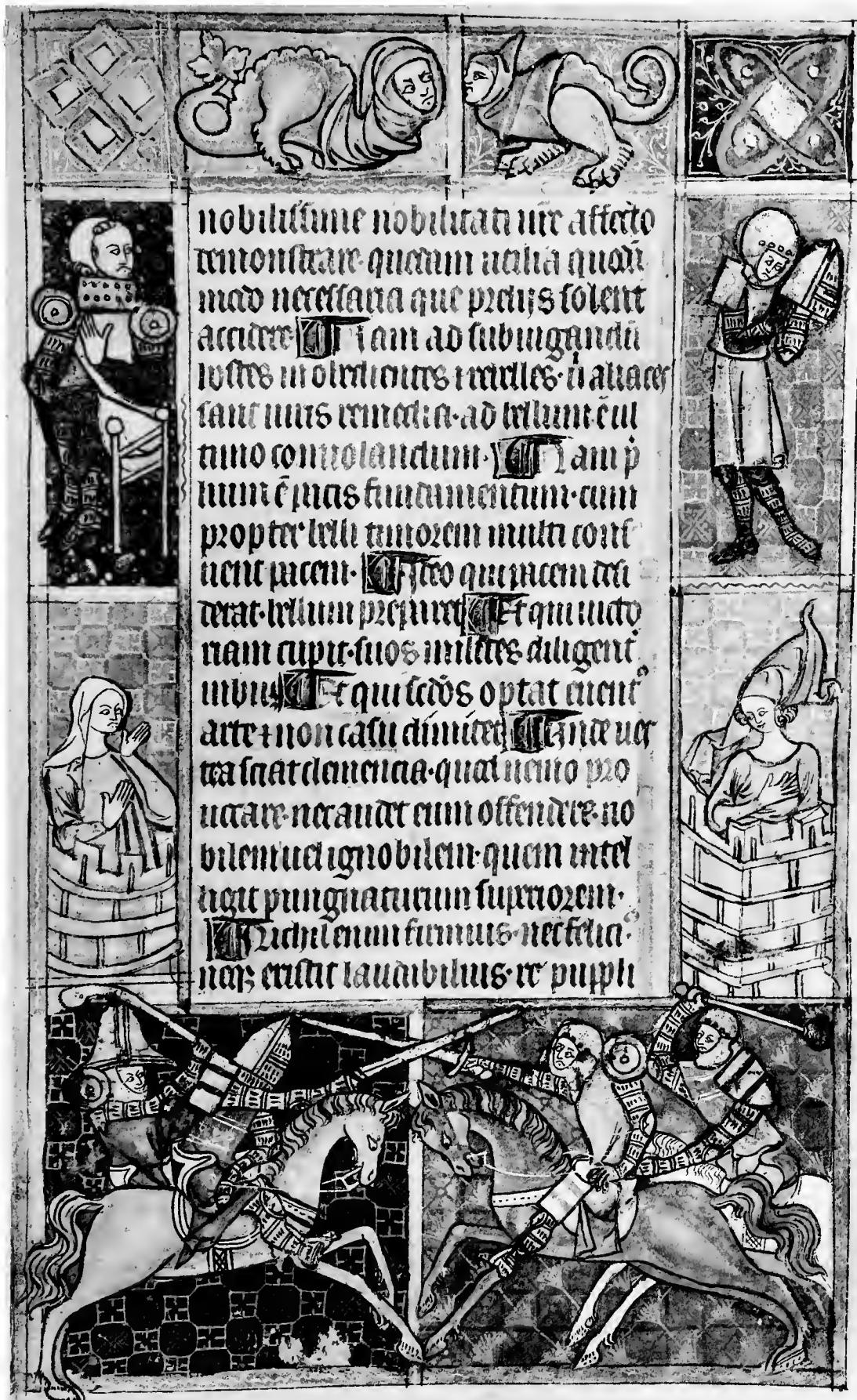


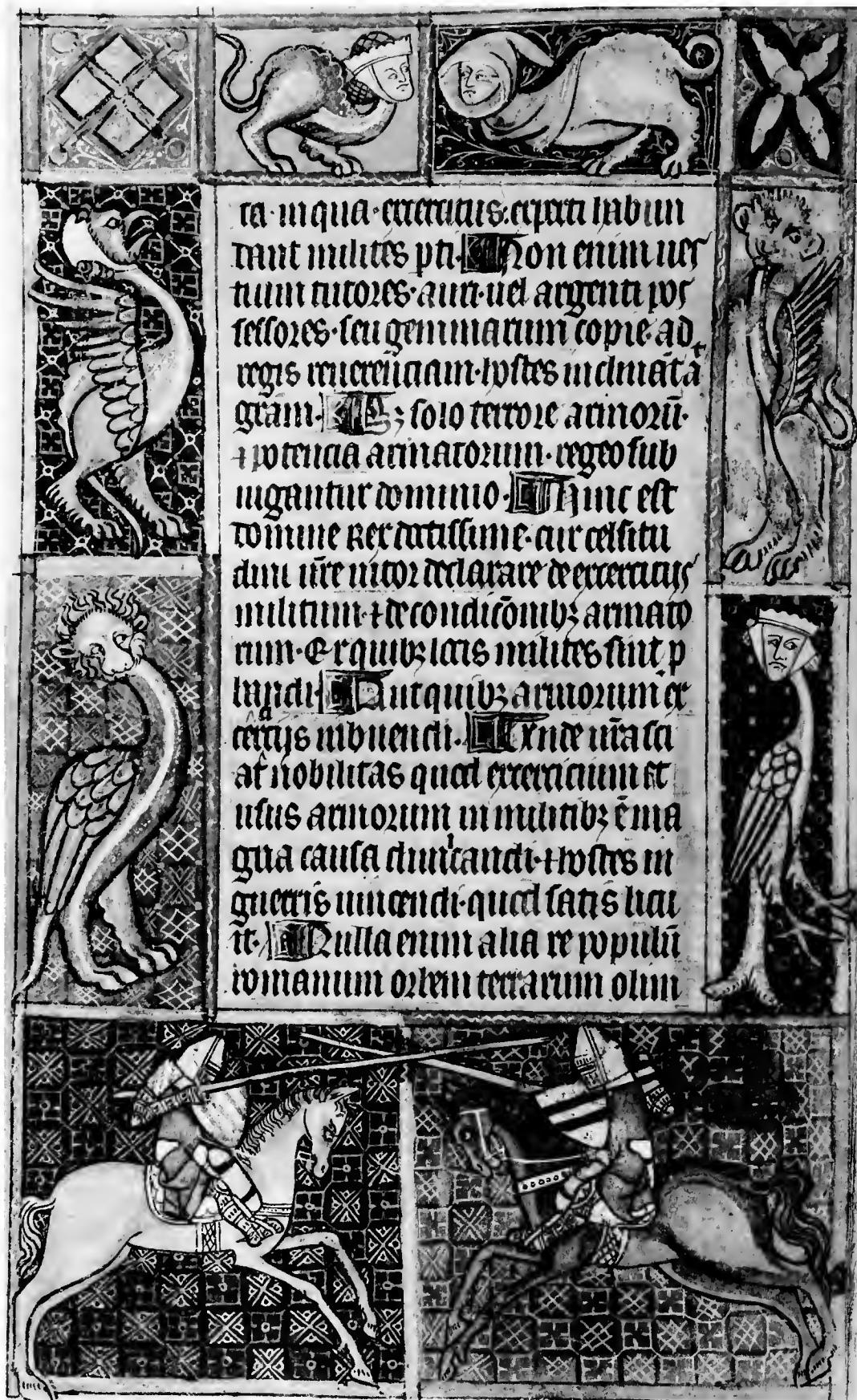




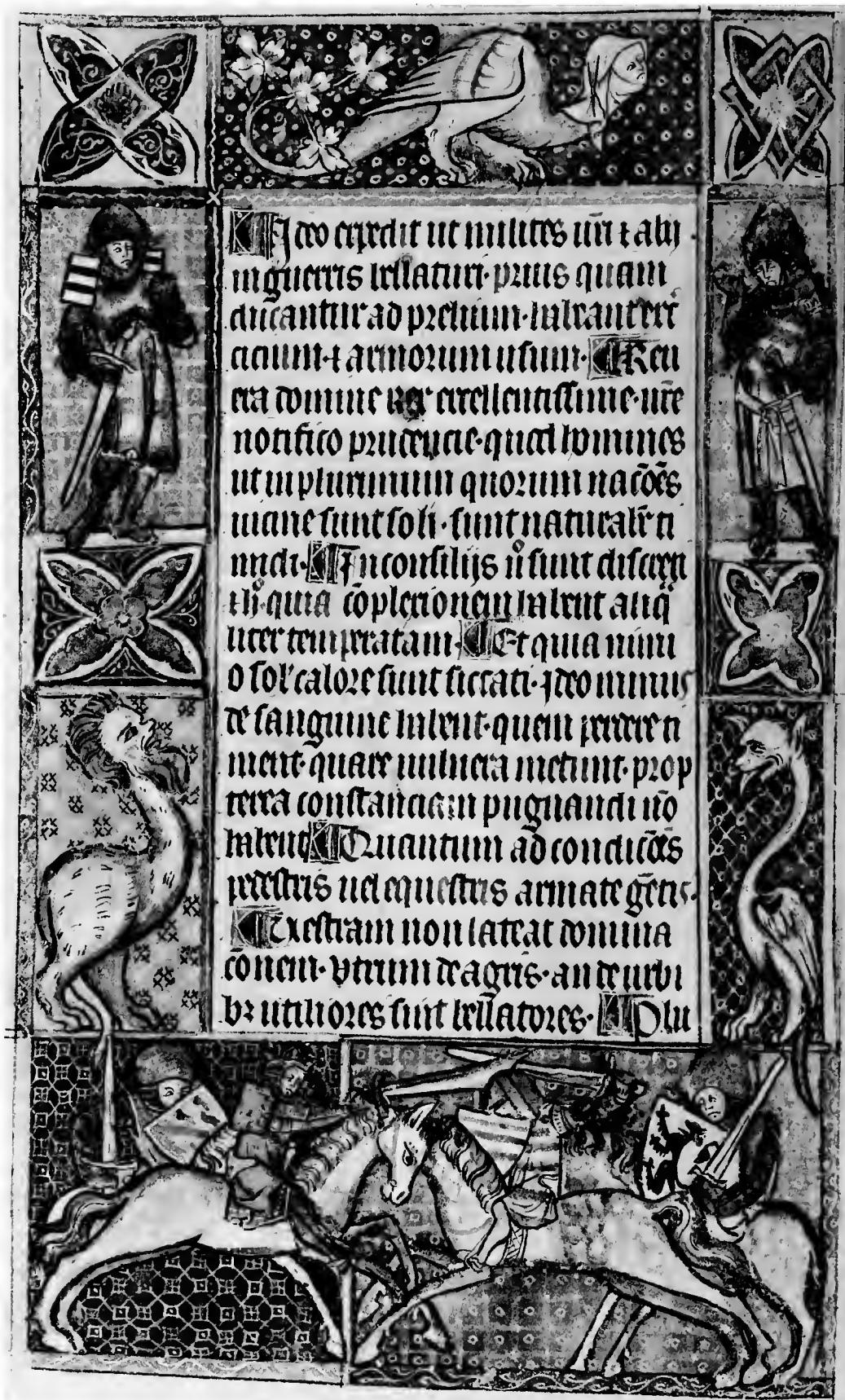




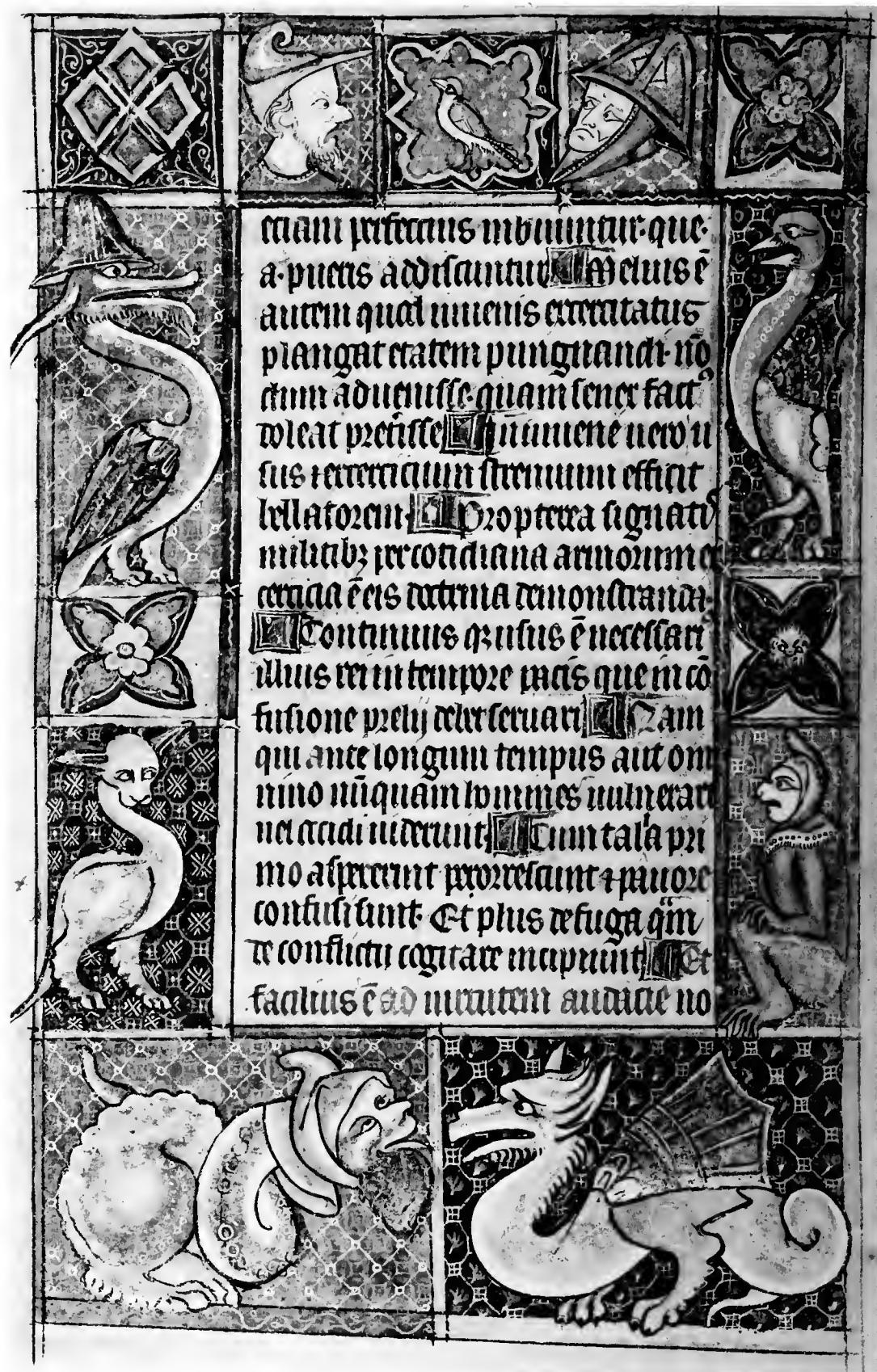






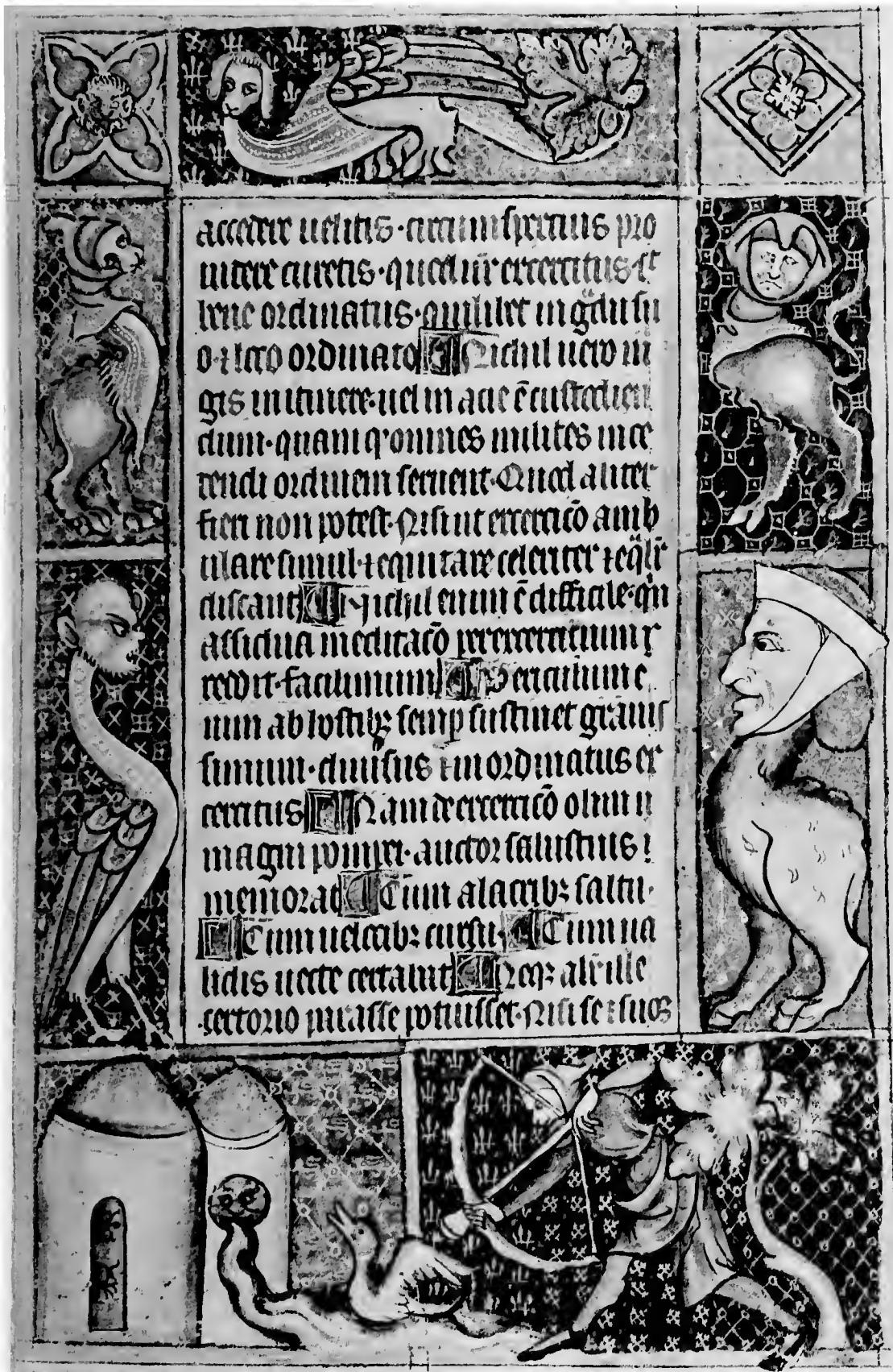


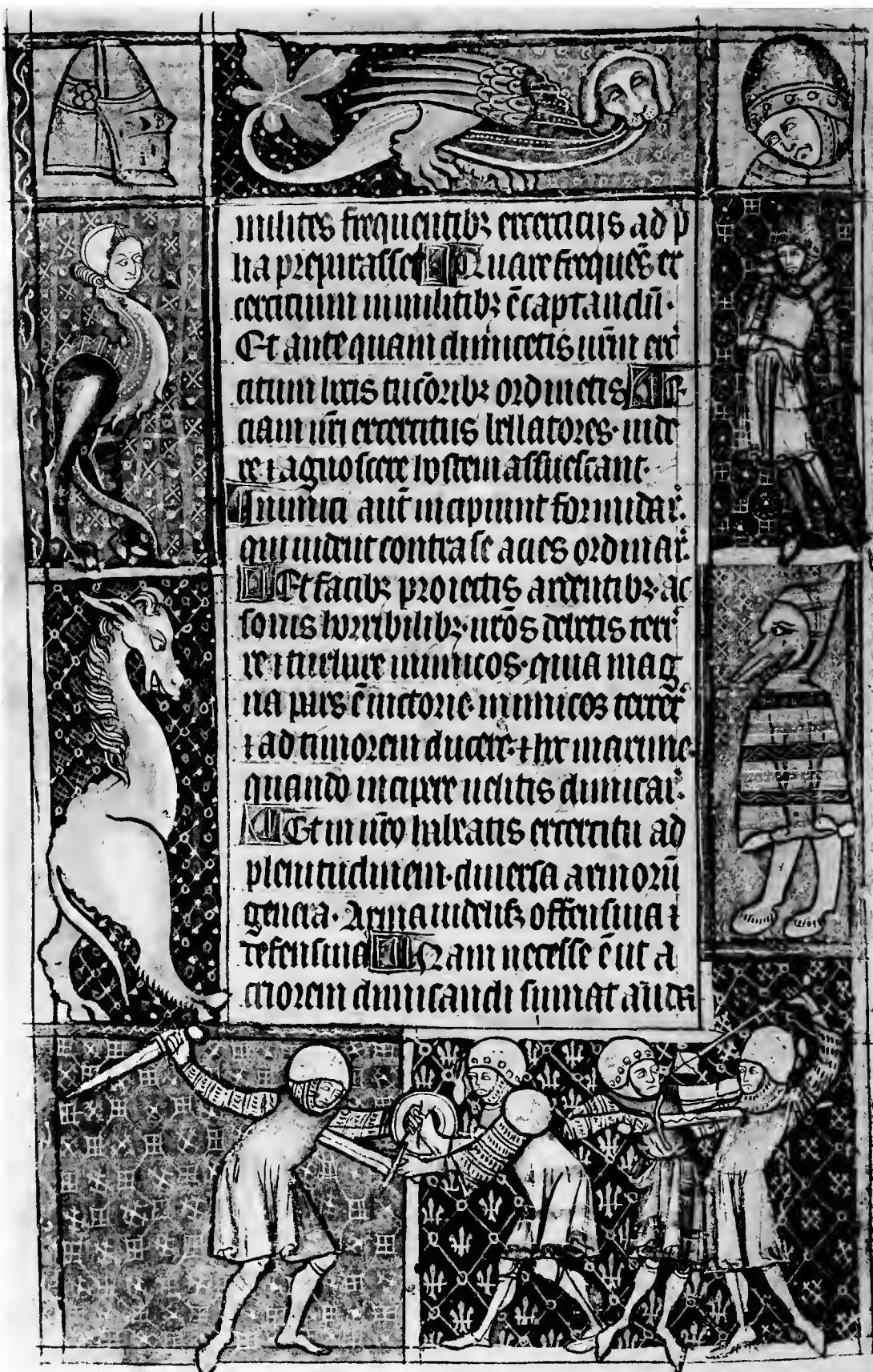


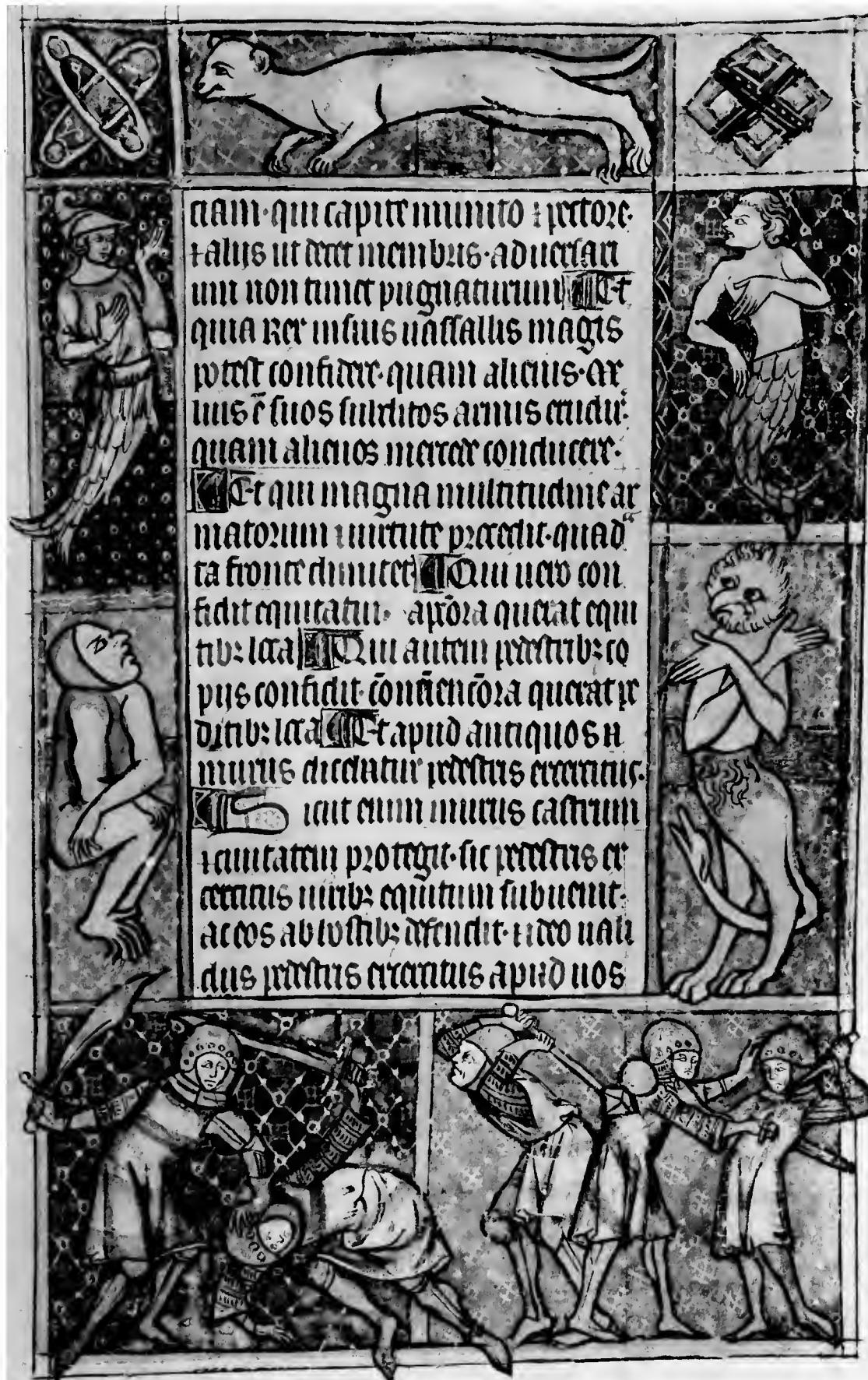


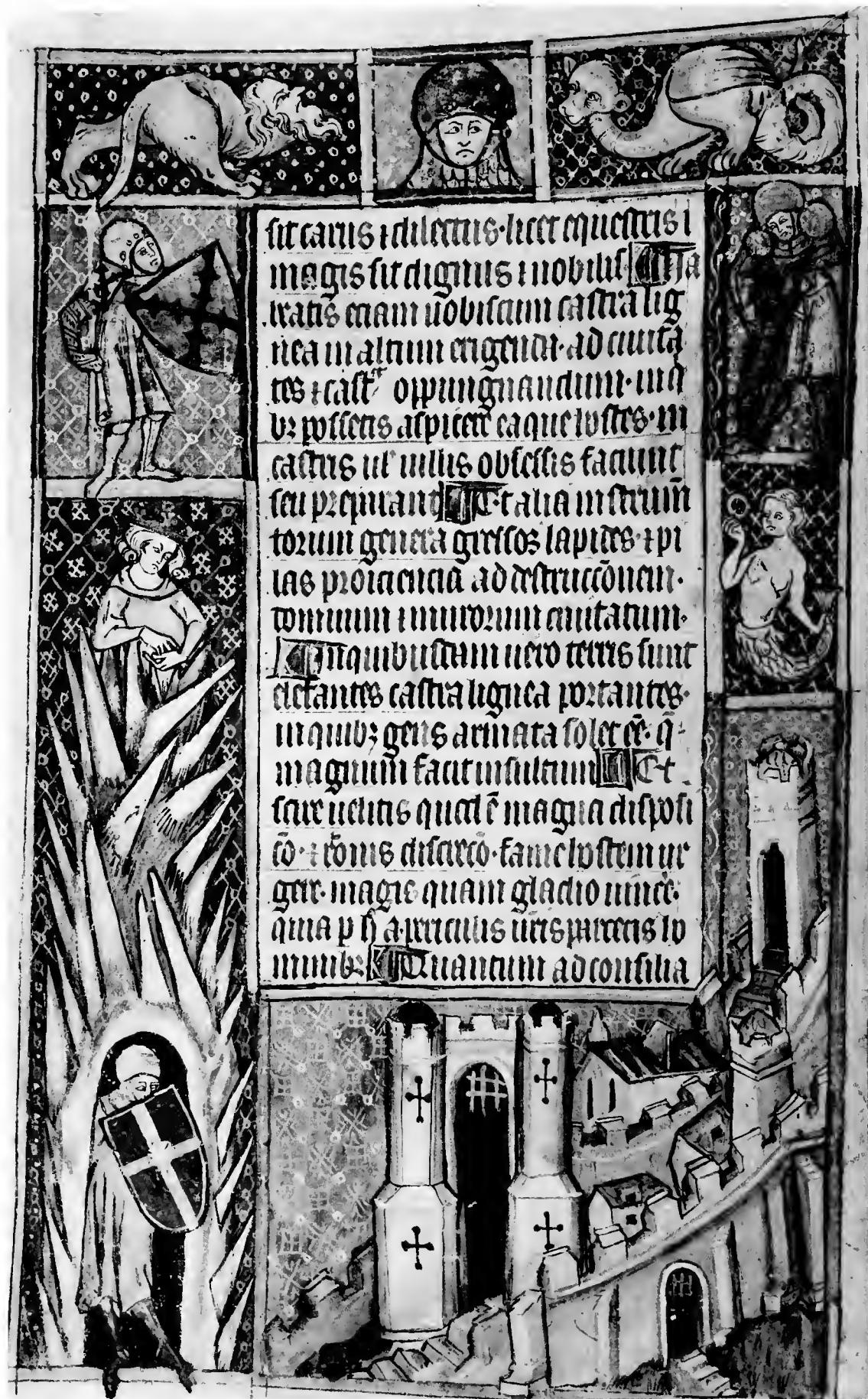
uos instruere. quam præteritos r
uocare. **E**t ideo dulcis est pugna
in experto. **N**ec satis in milite est
confidendum. licet uerb affectet pre
lum. quia multi se fugiunt audi
tes qui naturæ sunt timidi. i in pre
lio magno detenti. satis sunt debiles.
Ecclasse uocatis quæd iniqua
miles in aciem belli est præducendus.
nisi antea. cuius audaciaam. uita. cepe
rit experientia. **E**t quiens uia
laudabilis in industria condicōnes
militum. quo ad præsum agnos
ceri inititur. Sepius aduicit quæd
uulni. **A**ribis. **I**ncessu. **M**otu.
decis sufficienter intermititur. **E**t
apud uos est notandum. quæd lo
nitas multem reddit. ydoneum.
Extrāndia autem dum pulet
fugient faciunt. uictorem esse.

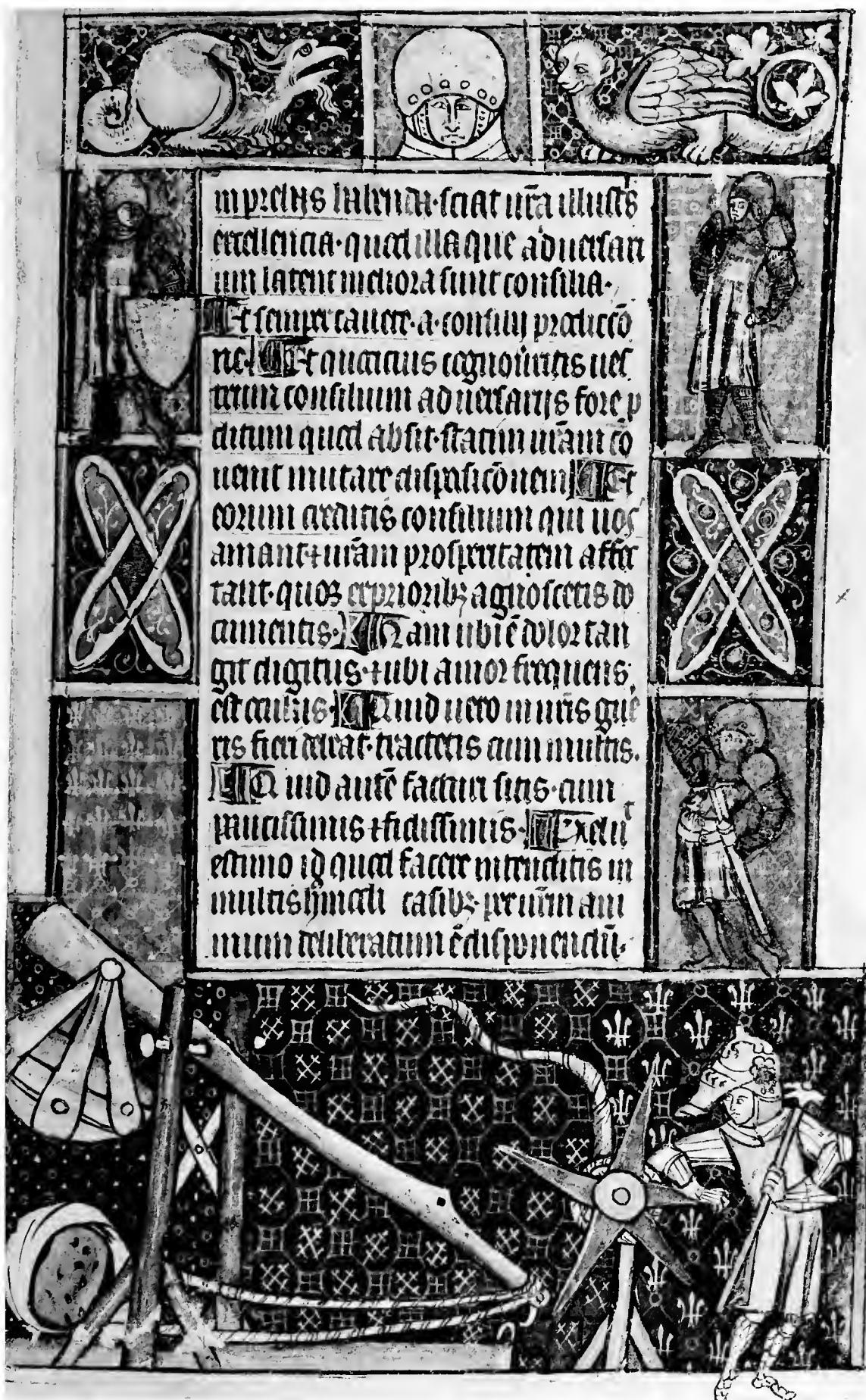






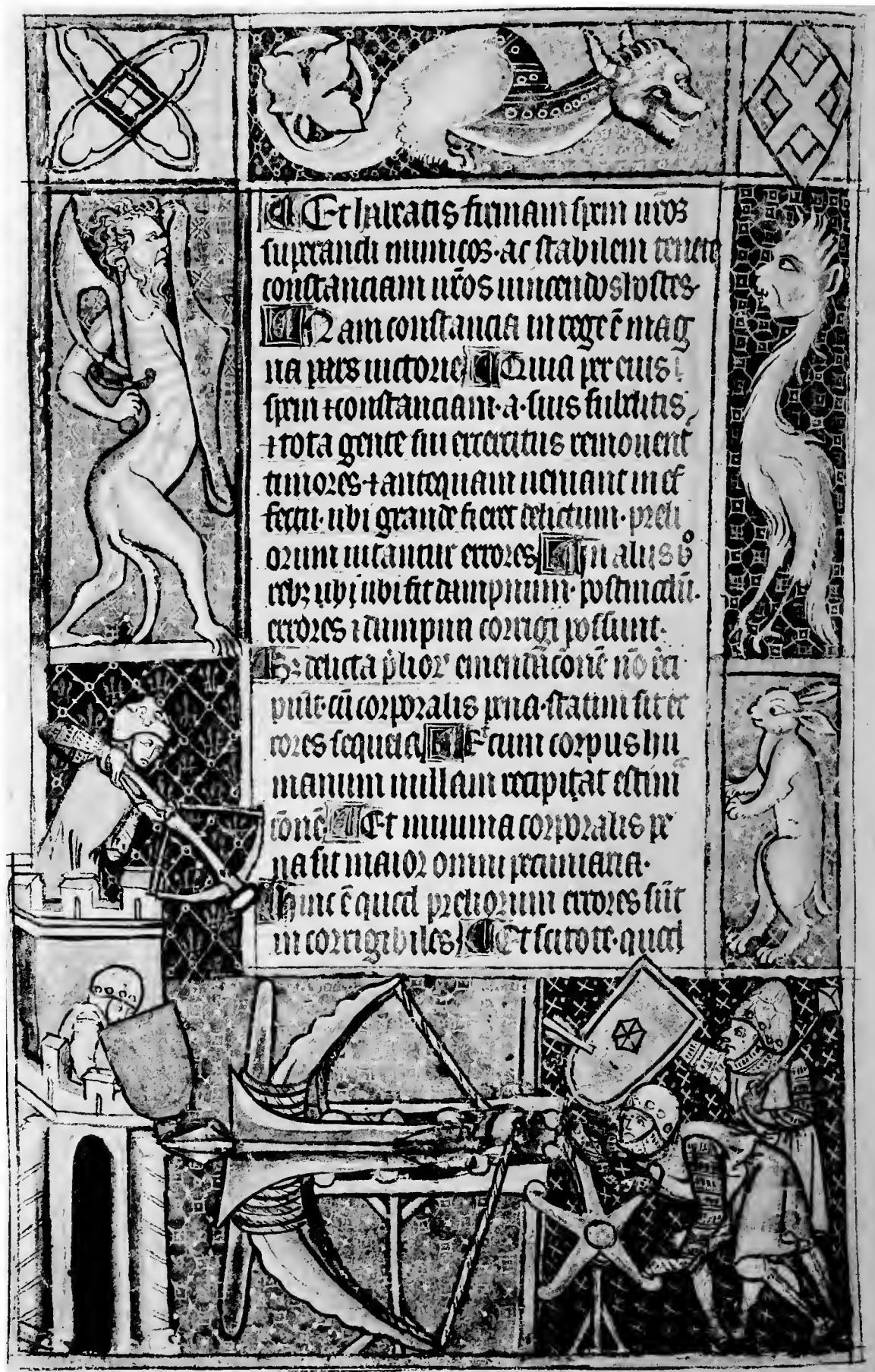


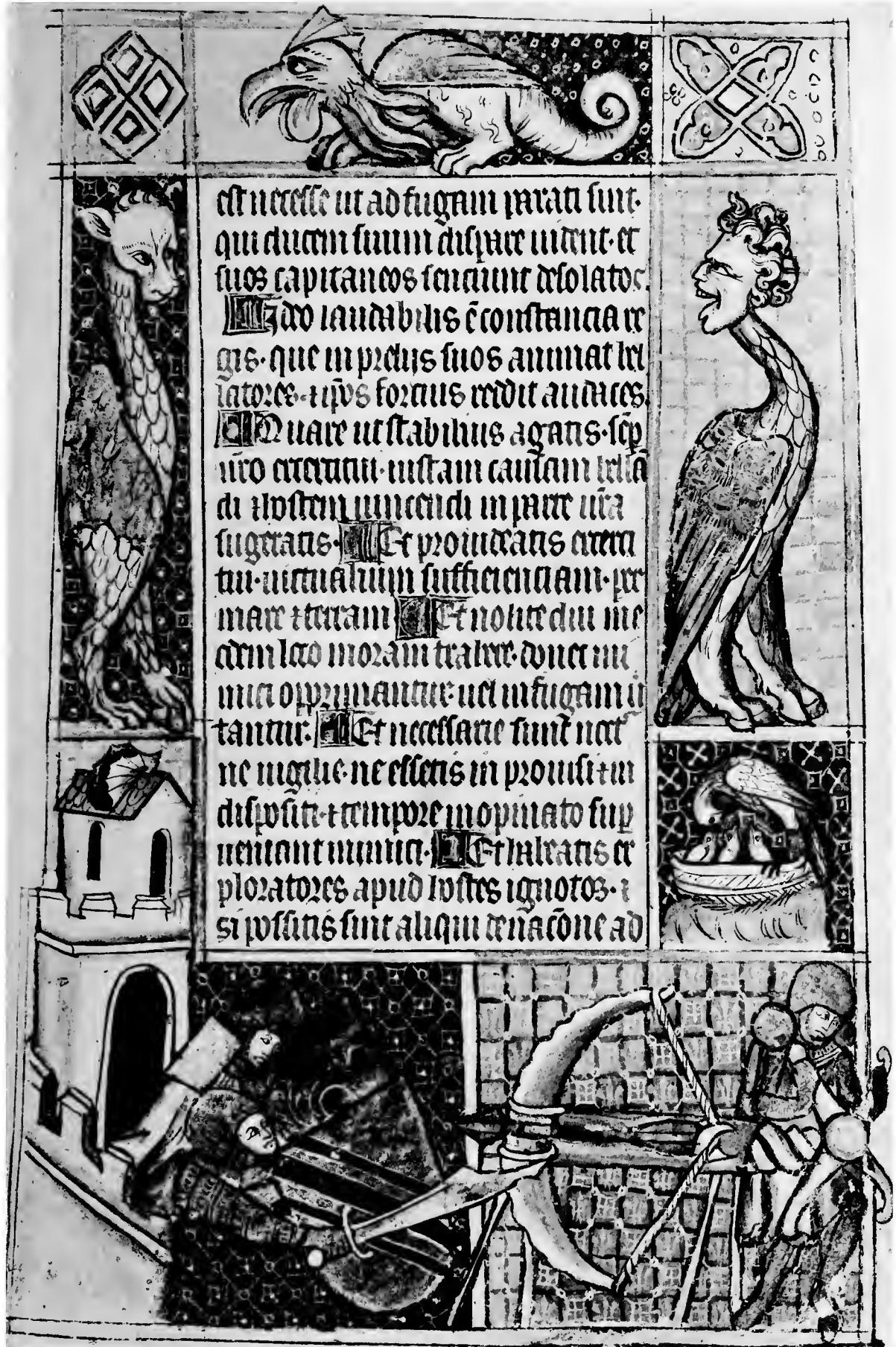




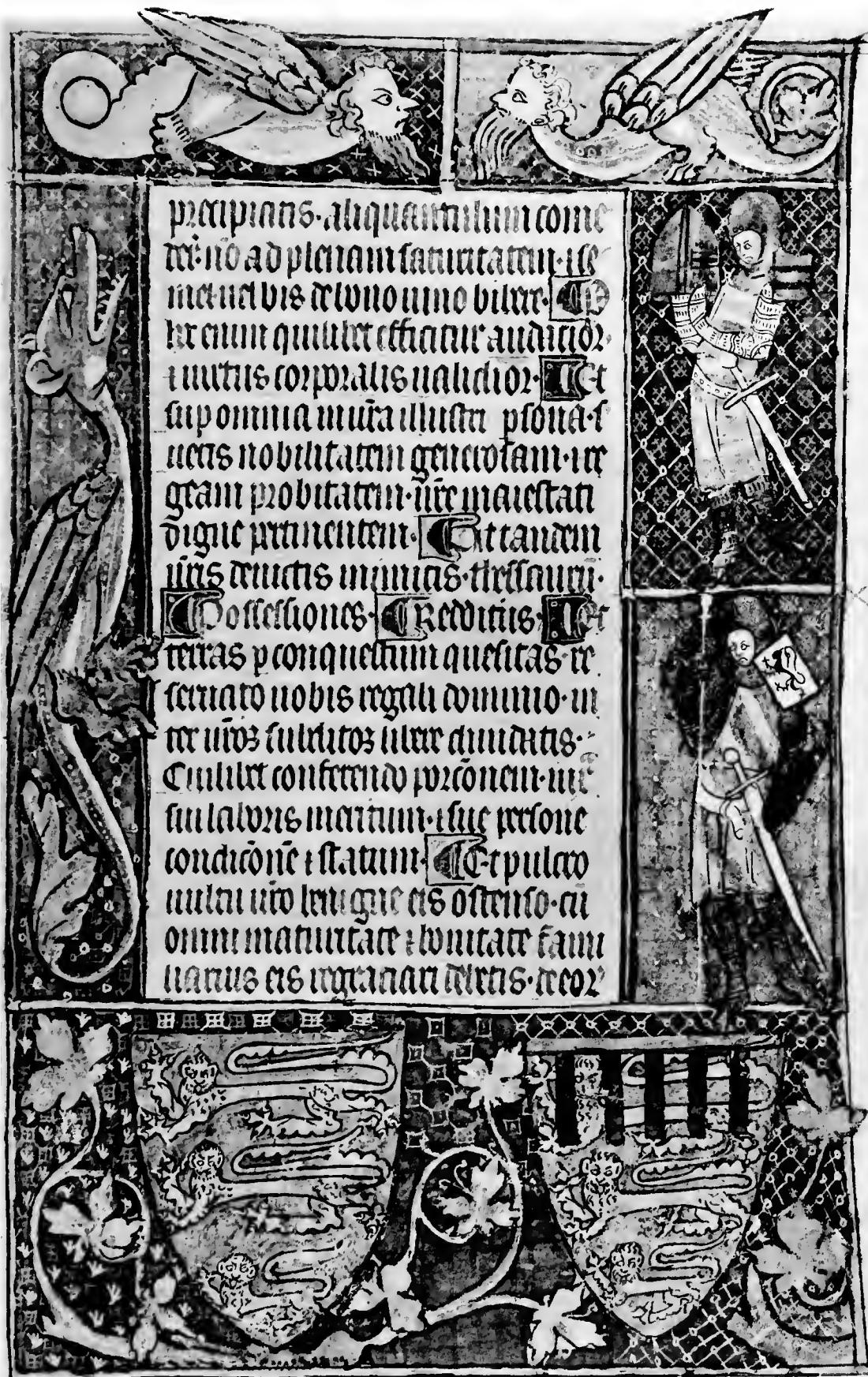






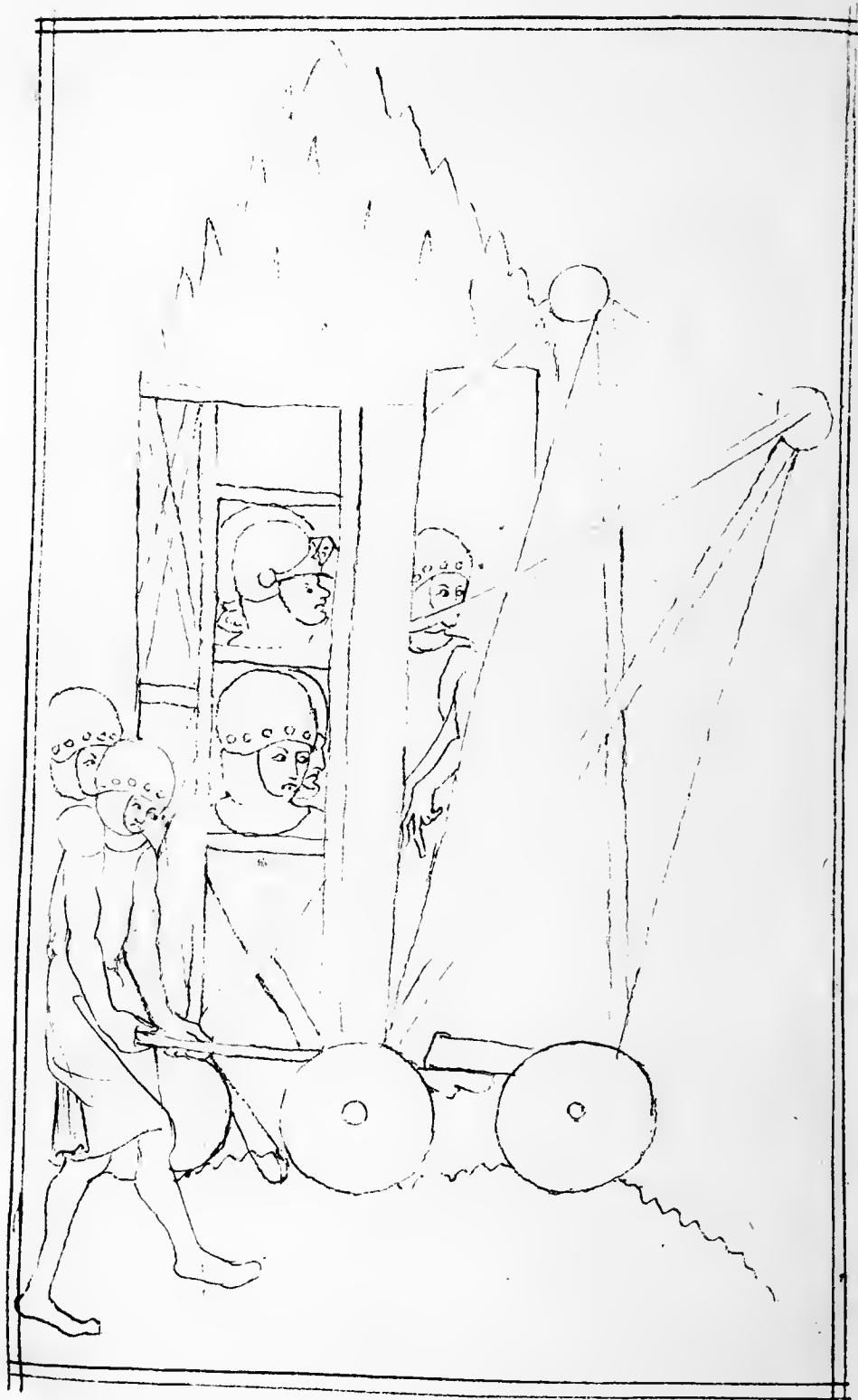


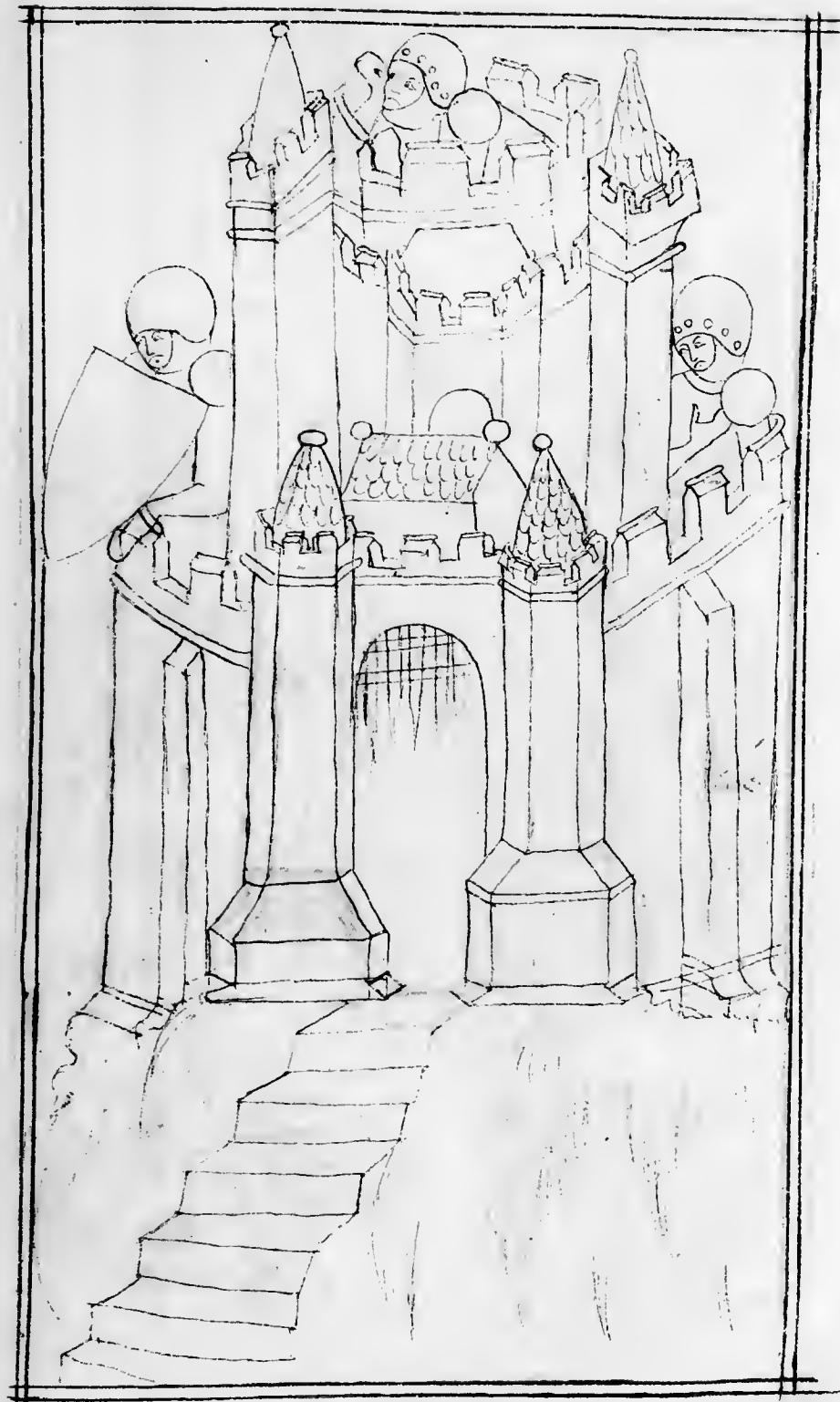




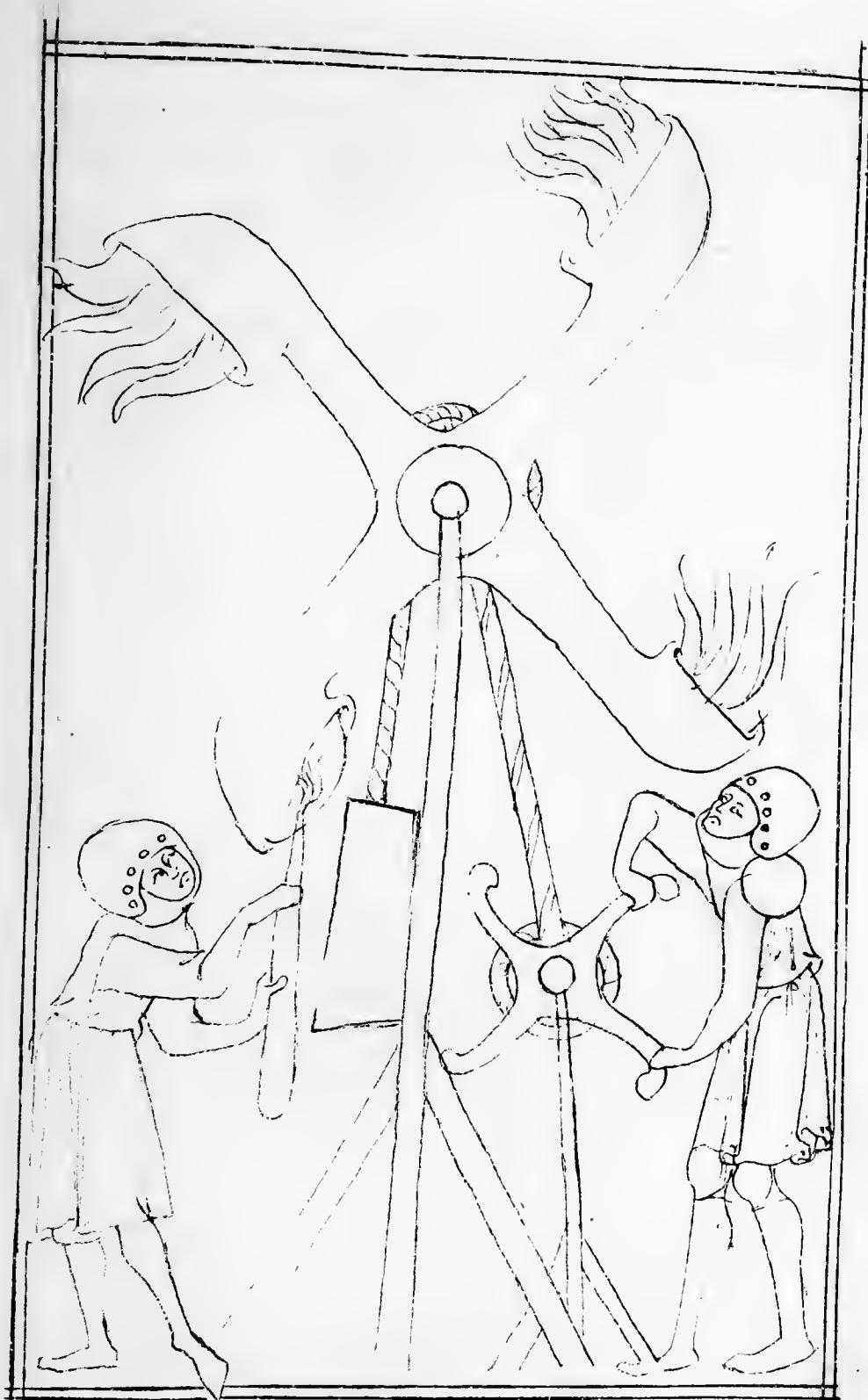


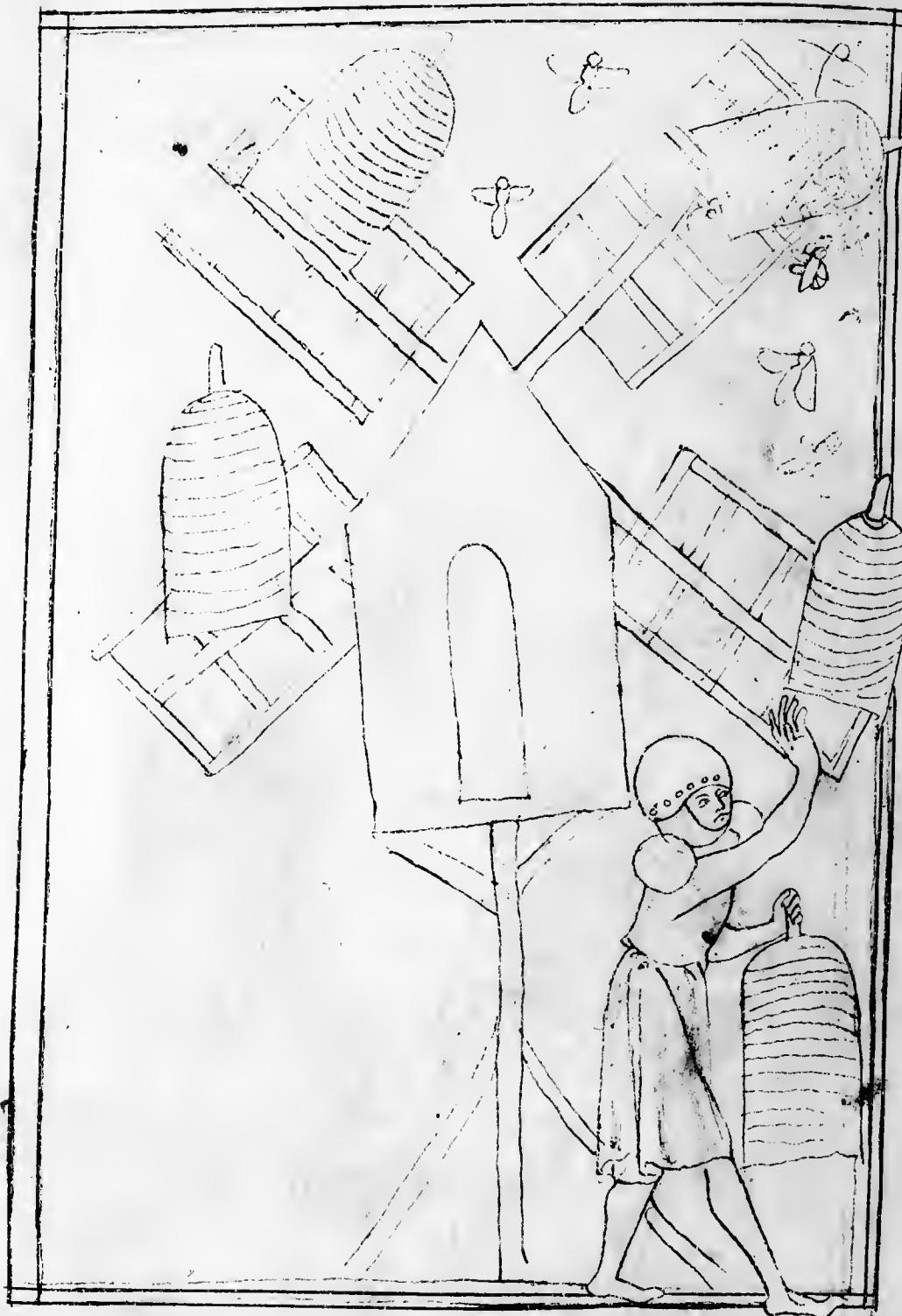




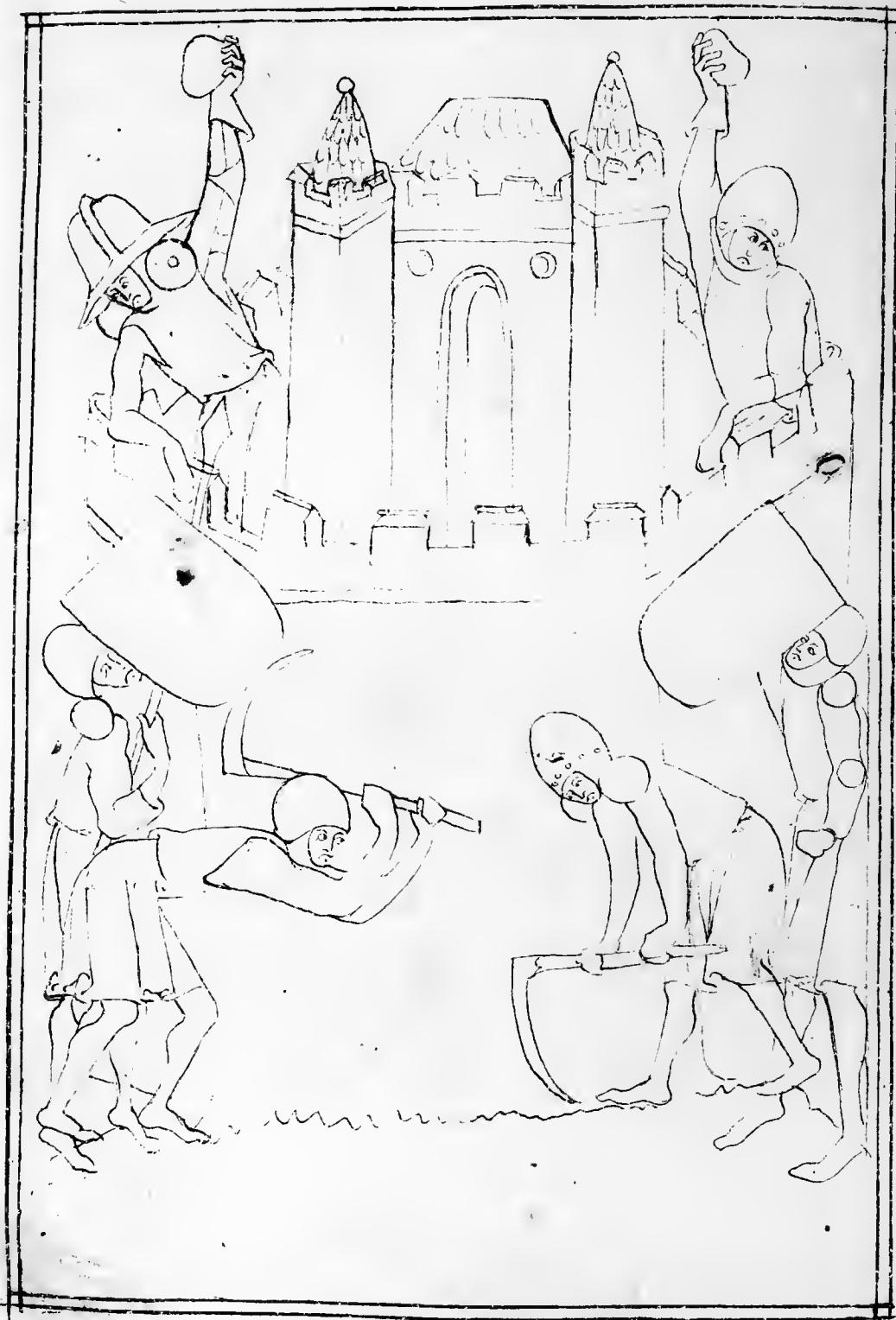




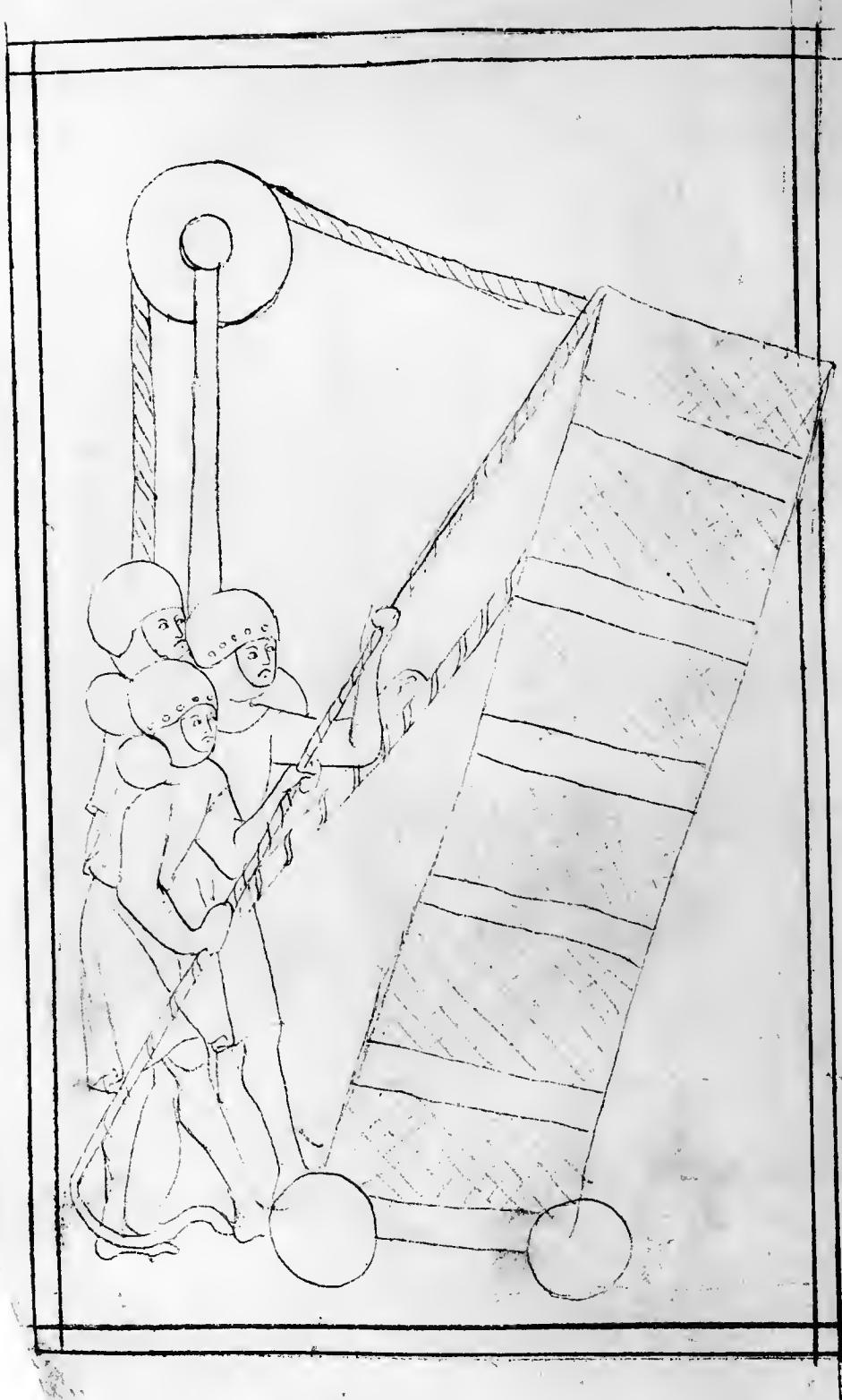


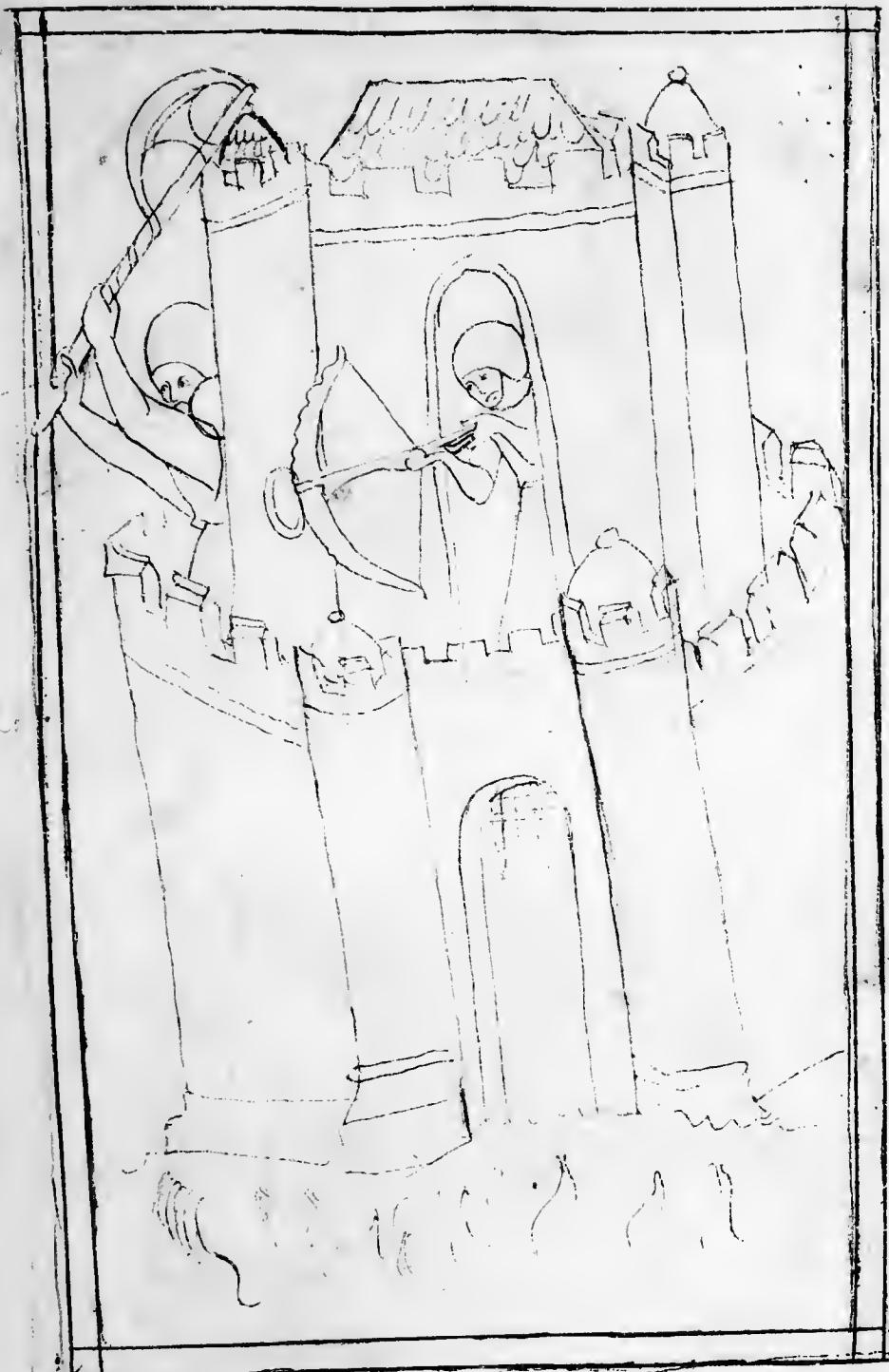


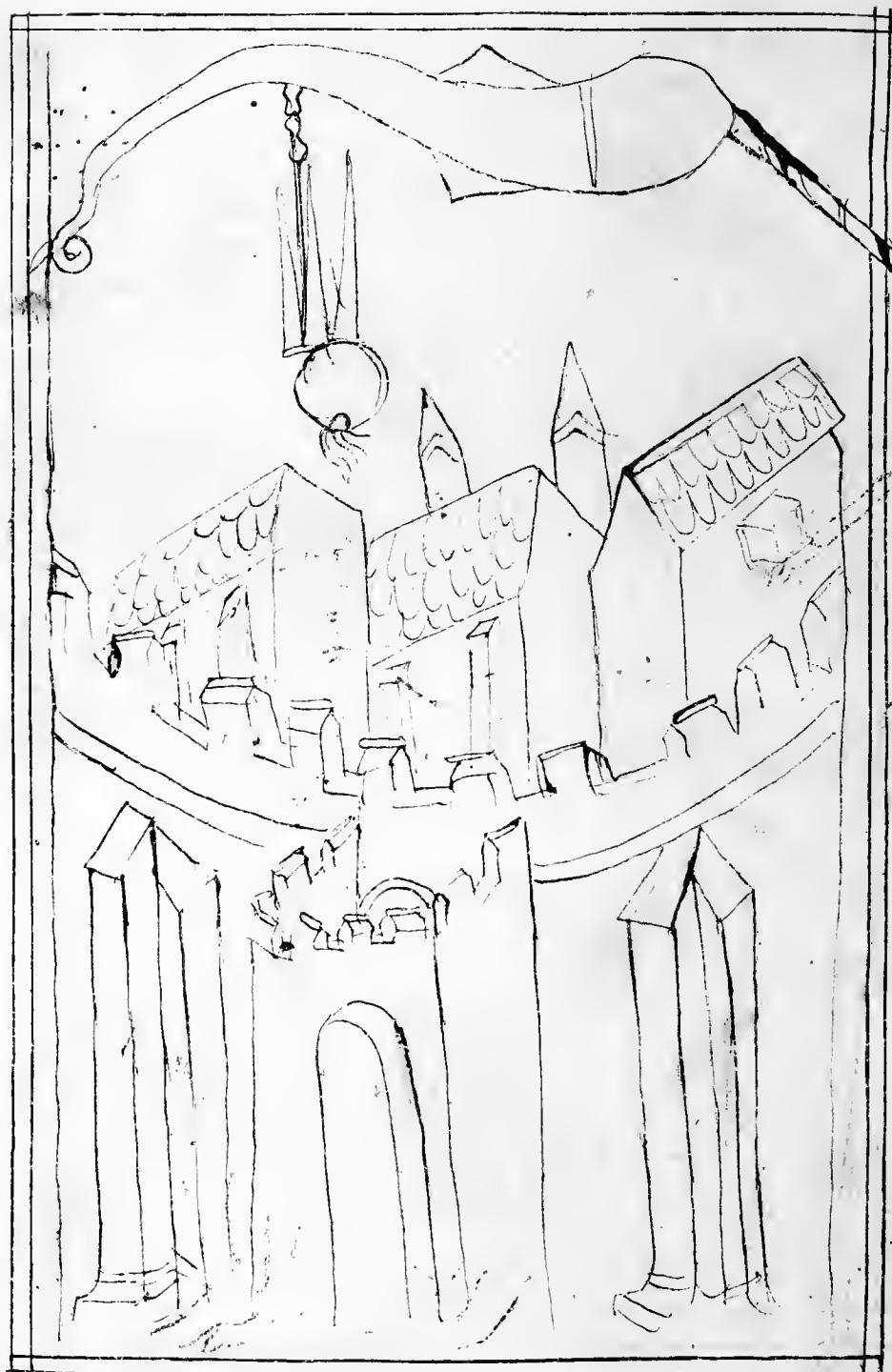


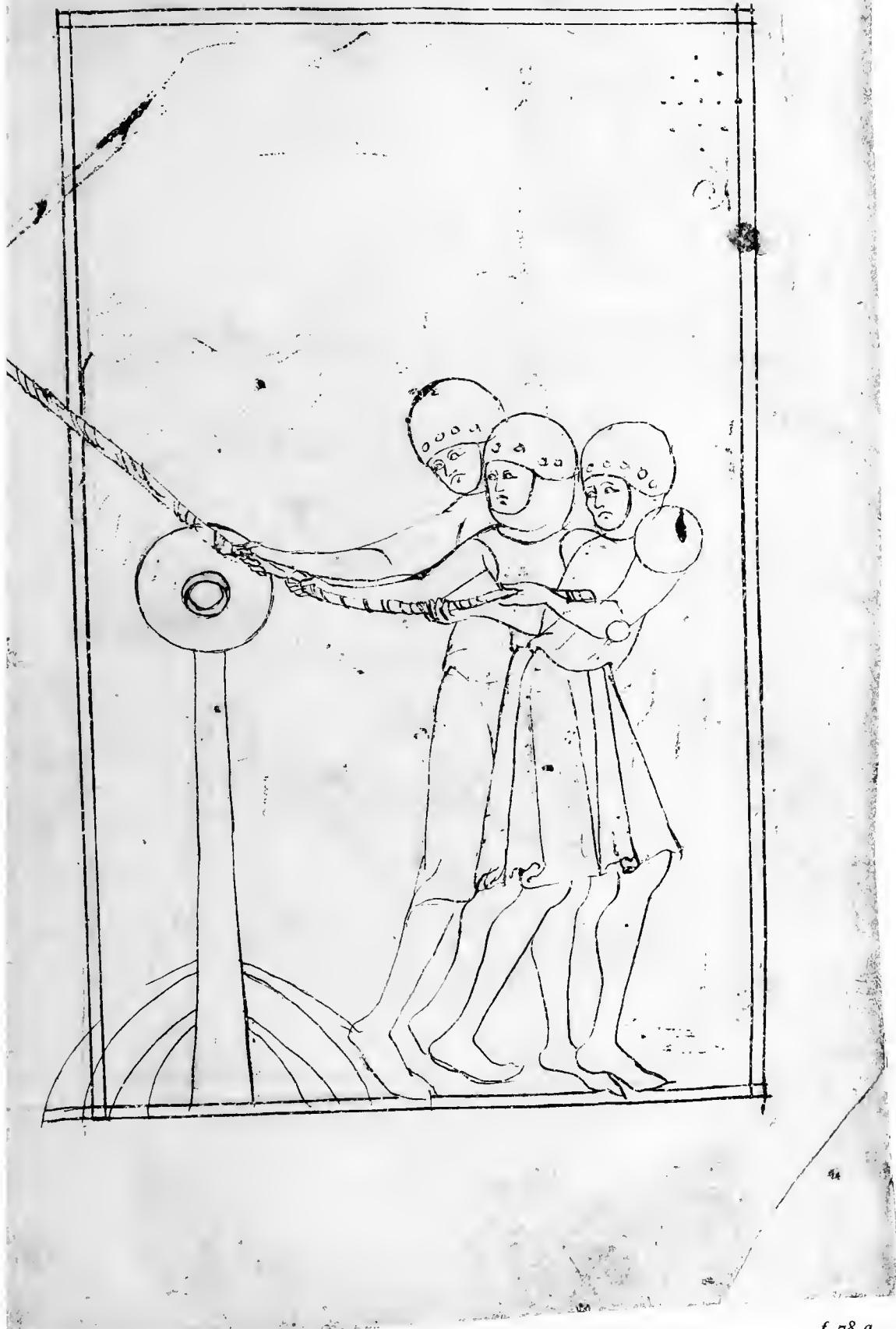




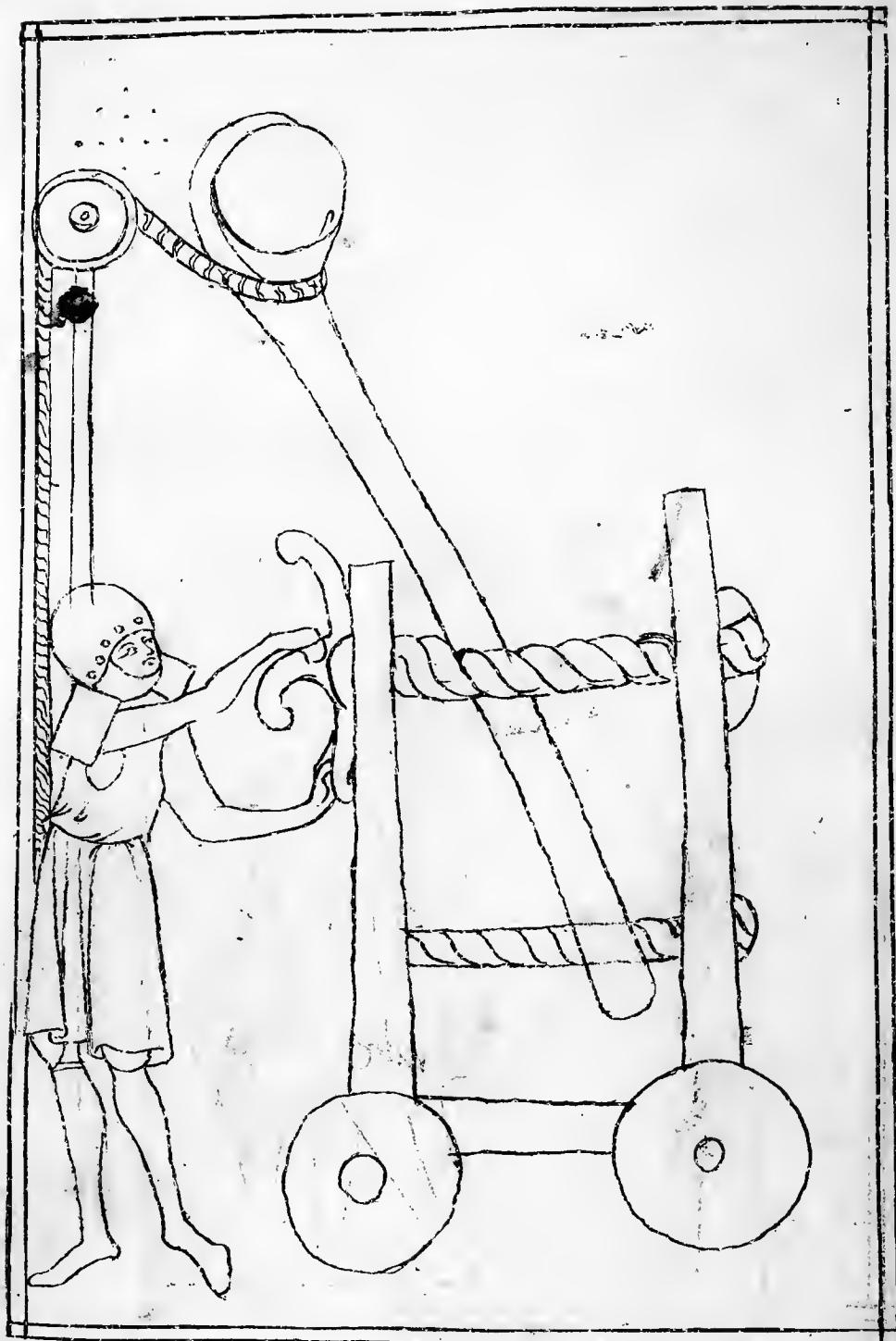








f. 78.a

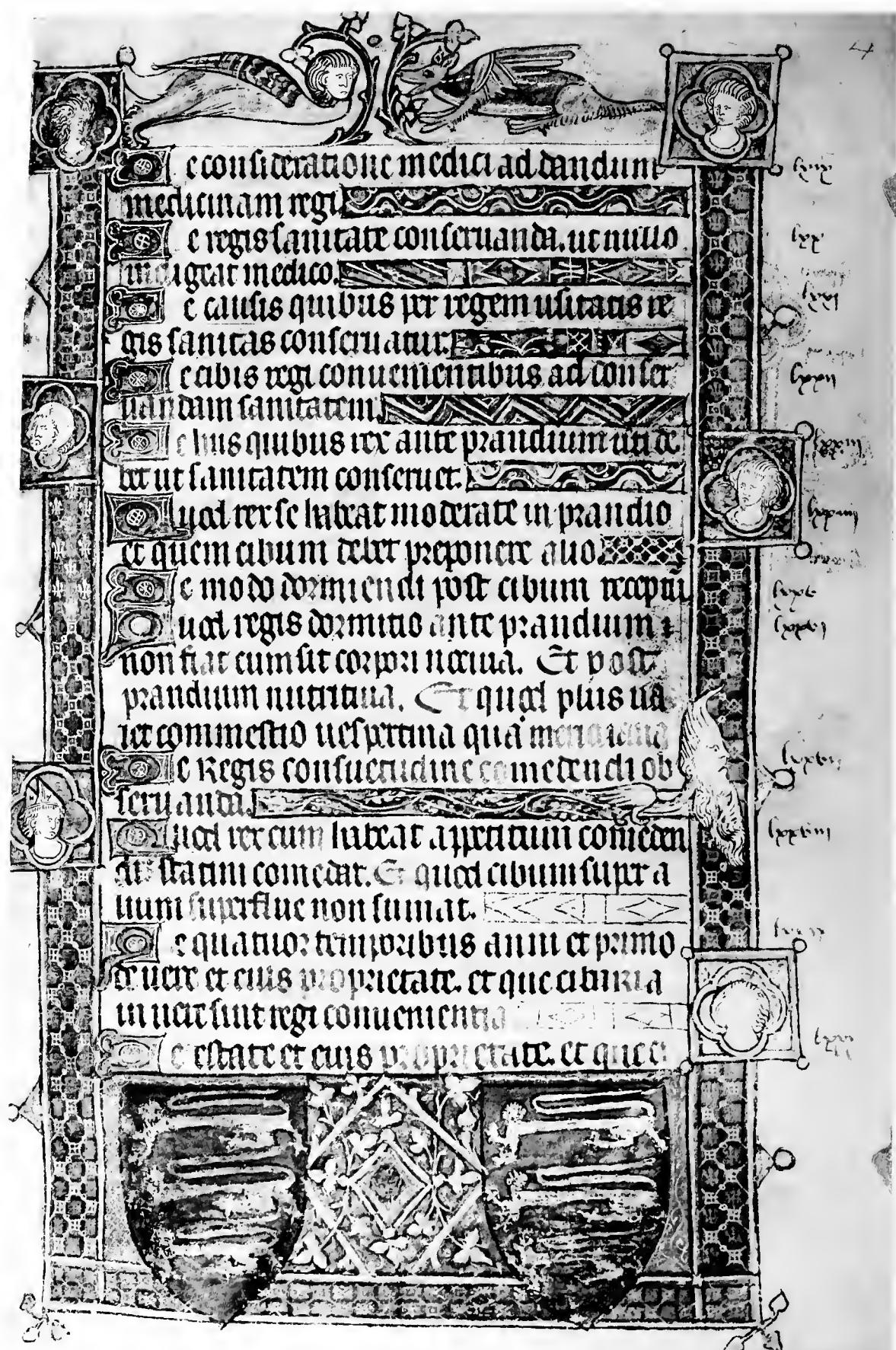


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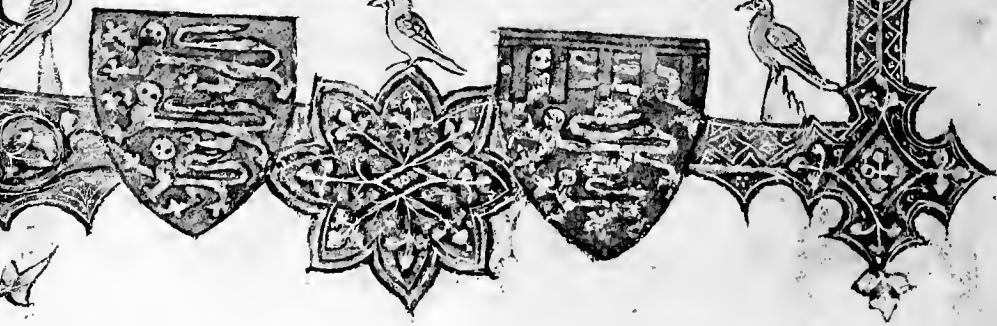




sunt aucta lingua et totius mundi solis tenui
re monachiam in omni terra eruit fama sua.
et per uniusa mundi climata omnes gentes et
diversae natus subiacerat se suo herbo et sceptro.
ataresque et perles nec fuit aliqua gens que
sibi audiret resistere in facto uel in dicto.

latio iohannis
translatoris qui
transluit librum
philosophi aus
totius de lingua
greca in caldea
et de caldea in ar
abicam. ad pre
ceptum regis
arabie yrita;

Iohannes qui transluit librum illum
calius patris linguaum interpretatus sic
iusinus et peritissimus. sic inquit. No
teli qui lacum neq; templum in quib; phi
losophi consueuit conponere et deponere
sua opera et secretum quem non iussit. nec a
nique in pitissimum quem credidit habuit ali
quam notaciam de scriptis philosophi
as quem non exquisivit. quousq; uenit ad o
rarium solis. qui composuit et titulapites



auxiliante. qui suas fluit ducias habundante
in sapientum animas. et studentibus tribuit gra-
tiam cognoscendi. Cui nichil est difficile. si in quo-
mochil est possibile possideri.

circibus amicu-
corum circulargita-
tem et auaritiam.

Reges sunt
quatuor.

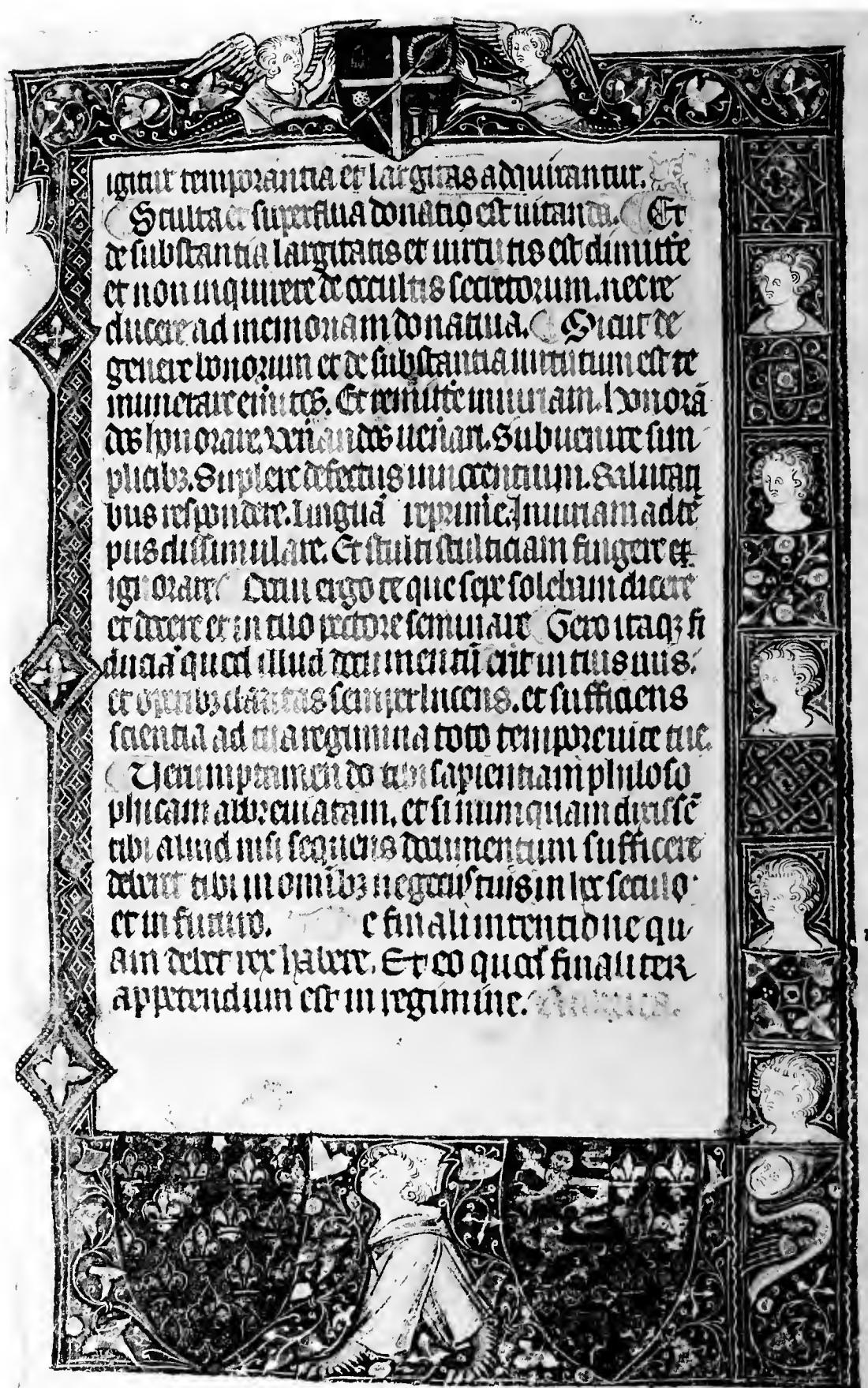
Rex largus si-
bi et subditis.

Rex auarus si-
bi et subditis.

Rex auarus si-
bi et largus sub-
ditis. Rex lat-
gus sibi et aliis

uulnus. Italicus itaq; dixerunt non esse uau-
in reges si est auarus sibi et largus subditis. Tu
dixerunt. qui est auarus sibi et subditis alio non.
Perses autem asserentes contrarium. et con-
dicentes iudicis. uel italicis. itaq; dixerunt. nuchi-
ualec rex qui non est largus sibi et subditis. Et
int' omnes mei iudicio prior est et in uito repleand.
ille qui est largus sibi et auarus subditis. quia
regnum eius cito desinatur. Oportet ergo
nos subditus quicunque iudicemus libet uide











Quid iam u
 luid quic
 sapientes philo
 sophi et diuini
 tuis sequentes
 dixerunt: quid
 uidelicet in pri
 mus deit regat
 maiestatem ob
 temperare se le
 gibus institutus
 non in facta ap
 parentia: sed in facti evidentiis: ut cognoscant omes
 ipm timare deum: et esse subiectum diuine potestae.
Sunt enim solet eum omes huius uenerari: et time
 mus regem: quando uidemus eum reverenter time
 re deum. **E**sunt aqua in apparentia tantum: se veli
 giosum ostendit: et in opribz si malefactor: cum
 difficile sit opera nefaria celare: et aput populum
 ignorari: a deo reprobiatur: et ab hominibus con
 tempnatur. **H**intamabitur eius factum. **D**um
 nuncur eius imperium. **W**ia dea glorie sue care
 bit innoxe. **Q**uid ergo plura dicam. **N**on
 est preceum: non est tesauus quo sibi homin
 famiam potest redimerit.

De ergis sapientia.







Egituta
 q[uod] regem
 multam iale-
 re contineat.
 et dissertione:
 et a n[on]i multo
 abstineat. quia
 frequens risus
 tollit reuena-
 tam. Generat
 senectatem.

usus seire
 diles: q[uod] magis tristis rex honorare h[ab]ies in sua
 curia et iustitio suo q[uod]m alibi q[uod] n[on]c sua inest.
Signis aliquam inuicem facit puniendus
 est secundum qualitatem sue prisone. Ut fran-
 tur ali: et discent ab inuicem abstineat. Inter
 enim puniendus est nobilis et eccl[esi]alis. Et ali-
 ter popularis et abiectus. Bonum est rigore
 et continentiam obsecuare: ut sic inter regem
 et subditos distinctio personarum. Nam scrip-
 tum est in libro esculapiorum. Quicunque est
 laudabil[er] et amandus: qui assimilatur aqui-
 le domini: inter aures et non ille qui assimi-
 latur uni animi subiectarum. **S**ignis signi-
 tur in curia vel in persona regis in maiestatis:



Canem multa in conuenientia et mortalia per
cula prouenient ex fugore peritus. **E**t calore et
tatis. **S**ic etiam accedit in rege. **M**ultas
quidem solent ab ipso incomoda prouenire. **D**e
suis subditis displicant. **E**t molestie ferun-
tur. **C**amen in eis maxima utilitas inven-
itur. **D**e regis
misericordia.



Miserando **E**nida
ga de inopia et
negligentia mi-
serabilium per
sonarum et de-
bilium. **S**b
ueni indigentiu-
bus insua in
dignicia de tu
a dementia.

Elige tibi hominem sicutem eorum lingua.
loquentem. **I**usticiam amantem. **E**t
inclem tuam suplere naleat. **E**t eos miserici-
diter regere et amare. **I**n hoc est legis obserua-
tia. **H**ominum letitia. **V**eniplacitum
creitoris. **D**e regis prouidencia ante adiun-
tum carissie.

minatur curia. **A**nnalia et gesta regalia in
 eius memori commendantur. **Q**uid sub
 lymavit curiam regorum et regnum. **Q**uid
 regum gesta per totum mundum perpetuas
 diffamavit. **N**ec certe fecit diligenter stu-
 dentium. **E**t probitas sapientum: qui super
 in eundem scientias dilexunt. **E**t propter hoc
 talia meruerunt. **S**ane puella in domo
 patris familias: et numero studio sciebat cur-
 dum annu et astrorum. **V**esta futura solep-
 nitates mensuum. **C**ursum planetarum.
Causas alibet ratione dici et natis. **R**e-
 uoluciones planetarum. **R**egutates cir-
 culorum. **S**igna dicorum et stellarum. **U**n-
 dia futurorum. **E**t alia infinita que per-
 tinent ad ar-
 tem superiorum.
Ne regis co-
 fidentia inuile-
 cre non pineda.
Siletan
 truui
 quam confi-
 cis in operibus
 eo seruiciis mu-
 lierum. **N**ec



f. 25. b





Eccl conside
Randa gene
uis in quibus datur
Duia genitius
 sex disponit
 iuxta naturam
 planetarum qui
 sunt in regione
 sue geneseos.

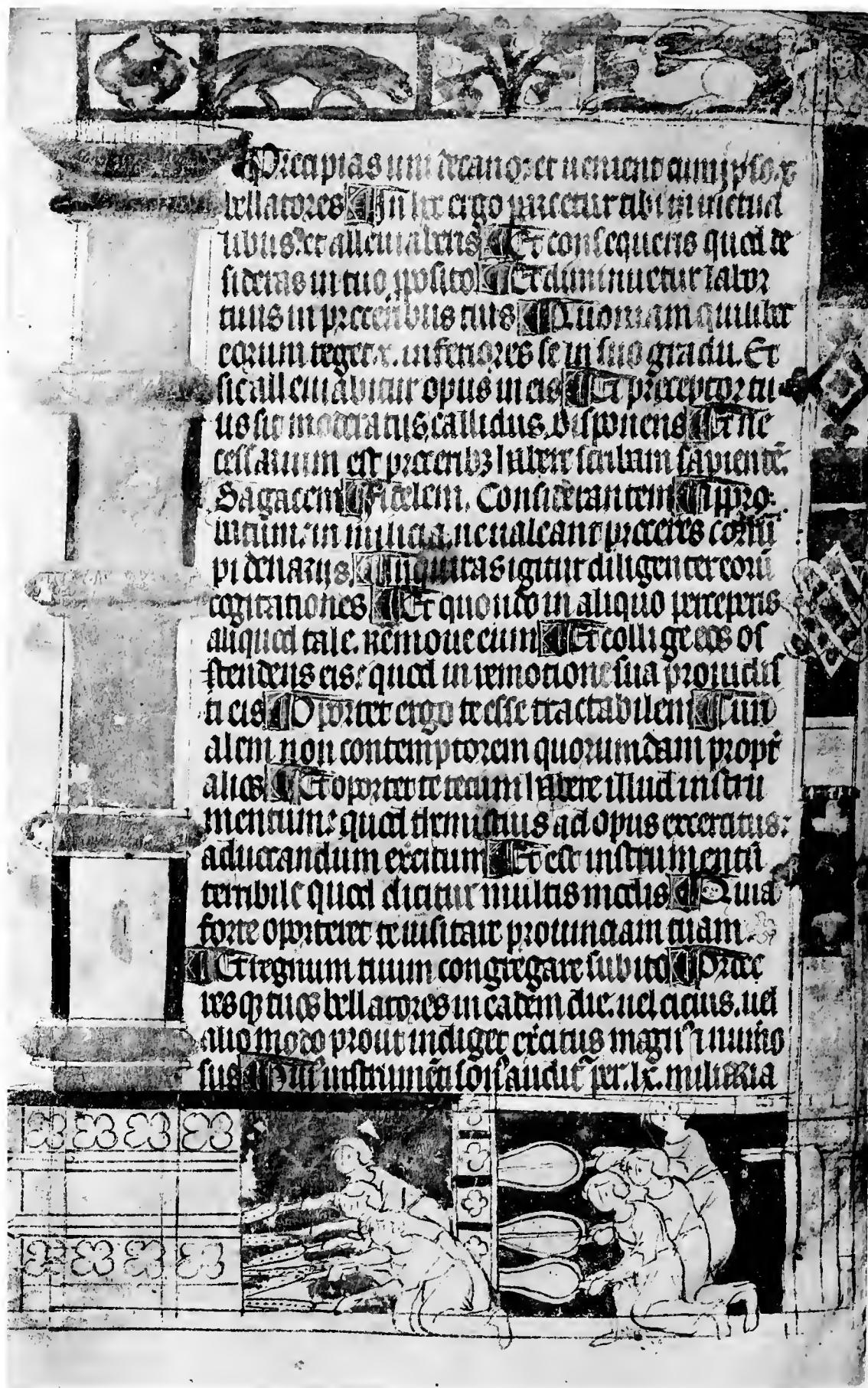
Et si forte
 contingat quod
 gemini ipsi in dire

cion aliquam artum. **N**atura superior attulit
 eum multo eius ad artem conuenientem. **T**a
 cilis huic accedit quibusdam locis. Qui si uenient
 quondam nullam et hospitium sunt apud quem
 tam traxerem. **T**u natus es illa nocte filius.
Tuus genesim hospites acceperunt et asperce
 runt. et ordinauit eum planetas. **F**uit ergo
 eius genesis in ueneri et marre in gradu suo ex
 istente geminis cum libra. **S**icra uero coniuncta
 et pessima non dum finiuit orta. **D**istendit er
 go genesis eius. **T**uca puer erat futurus sapiens
 curialis virilis manus. Boni consilii. Diligen
 tius a nigris. **D**ecultauit hieclantes a patre.
Tunc ergo natus in pueritate. **E**t ardebat

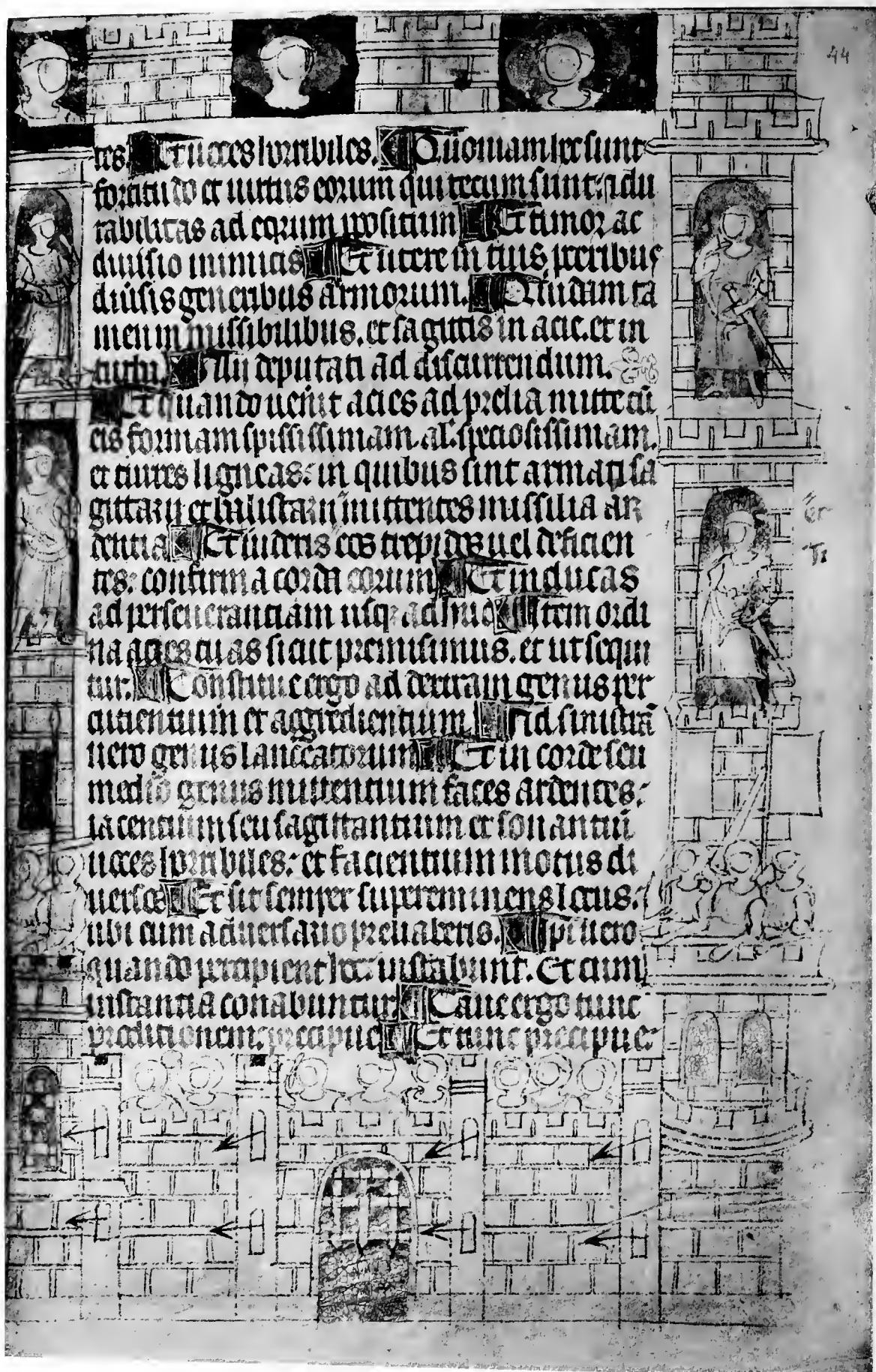
eruit

quam redat te superbi tendit corum conditio-
 bus. Et inquit deus quibus indigem-
 brant ego unum solum ipsam a te in-
 sum. Tunc sit bene dispensus. O magis aius.
 Longinus. Sapientia. pacis. **E**t nai-
 sit talis ut corda subditorum rebellaverint a te
 regnum. **E**t corrumperunt peripit cogi-
 ones que erant pure. **E**t multi multiplicar-
 ent dispermatores in expensis tuis facientis.
Duia per hoc ingreditur coruptione super-
 et. **Q**uia quilibet corum intendit compueri su-
 perare in coruptione sui operis. **E**t conabu-
 se ostendit fidem tibi: et ut lemnis in oppresio-
 nibus tuorum subditorum. **E**t hoc faciet qui
 libet humorum: ut in officio ad quod deputa-
 tus est fiuit: duicis perseueret. **E**t multi ta-
 les sunt qui unum dicunt: et aliud faciunt
 Et multos corrumperunt: ut eos illi manue-
 leant et descendant.
Regis ordinatione propterum et capita-
 neorum in bello. **Q**uot capitanei et ductores
 esse deleri. **E**t quot armatos ad bellandum
 quilibet ductor habeat sub se in suo gradu.





ergo qualis inuidia est ex corpore et anima consu-
 gens vel proueniens ex duobus oppositis repug-
 nantibus. **E**t ergo spes communis spes et fidu-
 cia in ictone ex quo uel utriusq; quorum cor-
 pus est coniunctio utriusq; partia. **Q**uando
 ergo non incidit spes in ictone. **V**ele ipsi iner-
 untur et cessant prelia. **E**t perdurat prelium
 quam diu durat præsencia in spes superandi.
 pertenit quilibet utriusq; **S**it ergo conatus
 tuus et intentio tua: in durabilitate et perseve-
 rantia tua. **E**n stabilitate et sustentatione
 illorum qui sunt a te geniti. **E**t nol uulnere
 personas illorum quasi contemptor. **S**et co-
 lige ueruorum tuorum. **P**romitte eis dona tua et ho-
 nores: et solue promissa. **S**cas itaq; quod
 non oportet te intendere in exercitu: nisi toga
 cum vel loratum. **S**ia ne subito inueniatur
 ab inimico: te querentibus. **S**it magna solia
 aido tua et prouidentia tua in præmunitione
 tui ipsius. **I**timis. **C**ustodibus. **E**t explo-
 ratoribus. **E**t necessaria est uigilancia in
 quolibet tempore noctis et diei. **E**t noli me
 cui castigia in simileco iucino monte uel coniuge
 ei. **E**t uirtu aquas. **E**t deferuiali
 a multa decimi: quamvis non indigas to-
 idem. **E**multi plura machinas discutten-



cum tuos iudicis uacillantes. **E**t ad illam partem quam iudicis in aduersariis uacillantem. **E**t ius illam dinge aries atque bellum. **E**t cum omnibus his persequantiam frequenter. **D**uia huc est de originalibus uictoriarum. **T**unc datur quod uictoria non prouenit de aliquibus nisi prius nuncantur pusillanimitate. **E**t adiu. in semetipsum et per ingressi onem affectus super ipsos. **M**ulsuper multiplica insidias: et consti. tue insidiatrices: cum sonis temibibus. **P**uia sunt de numero superantiam et uincitiam. **E**t etiam quedam cautela perduzens ad pro. missum: et unum ex fundamentis preliorum. **E**t habras loca determinata parata in aliquo locorum eratis ad succurrendum in potibus et aliis necessariis: et ad conseruandum pro. ceras tuos. **M**ultiplica etiam animalia per. tantia munitiones et casta pugnantes ut. iuste elephantes. **D**uia sunt ualde terribiles. **E**t animalia uelutissima: super te diomeda. rios. **I**n quibus estis fuge in necessitate. **E**t quasi castum. **S**in uero deles unpugnare in. castitatis. **I**ter instrumentis proiacentibus. lapides: ut pte machinus. **E**t multiplica ca. uitta modum instantis necessitatis ad huc. **E**t etiam instrumentis penetrantibus et ia.



audier ne plus presumere. **E**t scelus deducatur
 ad effectum. **S**i itaq; possit fieri: quod sunt
 deinceps non sunt minus. **E**t fac eos omnes i
 unum conuenient. **E**t si sumenda fuerit me
 dicta. **N**on solum sumere nisi de consilio pluri
 morum philosophorum. **E**t cum res debent ^{modi}
 adjuv^{em} velent habent fidem virum conoscen
 tem genera specierum et qualitates. **Q**ui
 delit omnia que necessaria sunt in composita
 one colligere de consilio medicorum cum cer
 to ponderet mensura. et totum conficer. si
 cit decessit. **N**on rex non assumat media
 nam. nec san
 guine minu
 at sine consili
 o astronomu
 rum. **M**axim
 at. **N**on assu
 mas media
 nam. nec ve
 nam aperi as
 nisi de licetia
 scientie astro
 rum. **Q**uia utilitas scientie medicinalis
 exaltatur seu commendatur in hoc. **S**ino



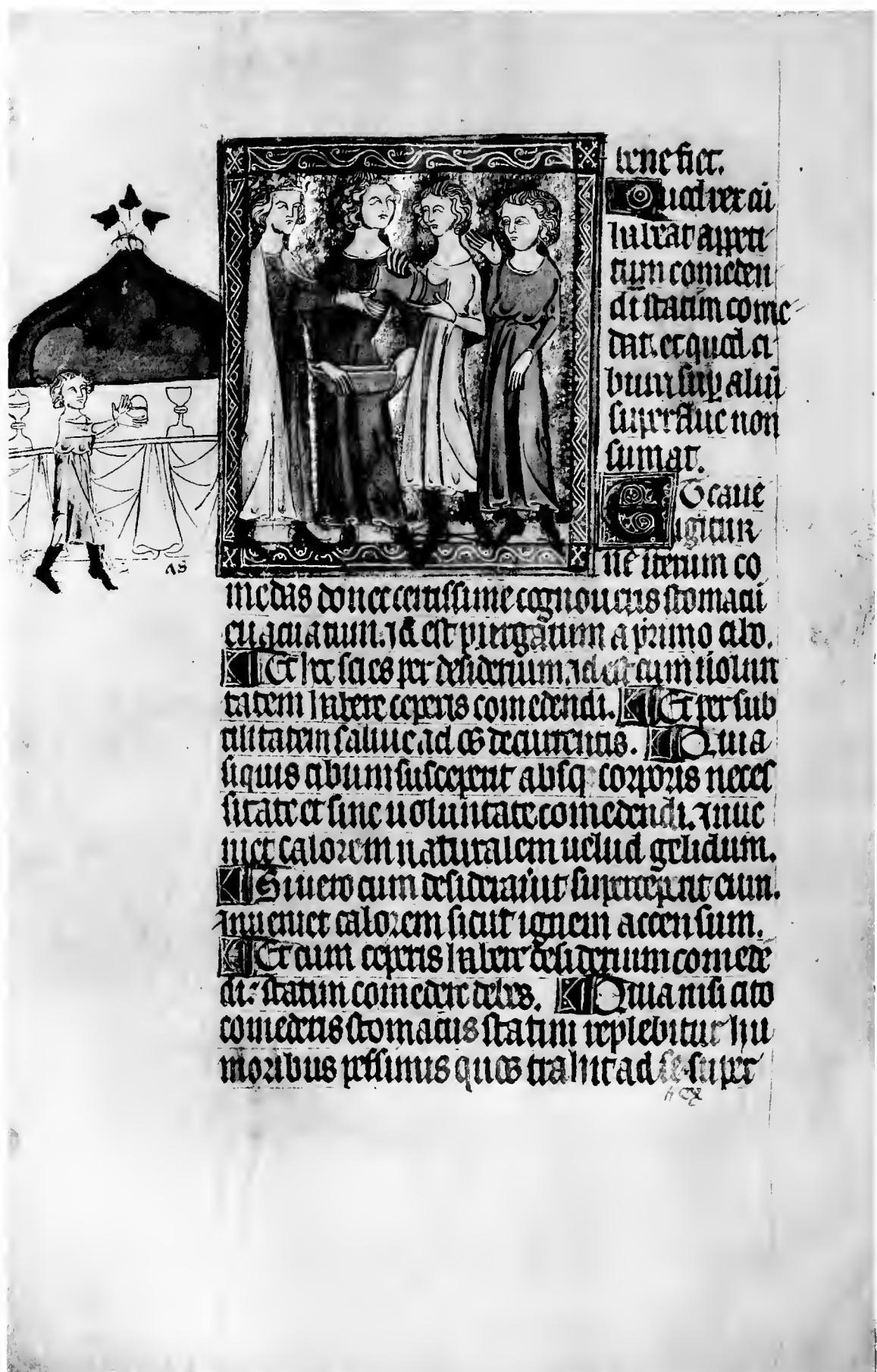
hix ualde proficit. **S**ubtrahit flegma a ore sto-
maci. **E**t cat calorem corporis. **F**ugat
uentositatem. **E**t bonum reddit saporem.
Dinde cum nobilibz sede. et sapientibz loque-
re secundum consuetudinem regum et no-
bilium et agere quod dicer te ager. **N**ec rex

se habeat mo-
derare in pug-
no et quem a-
būm debet pre-
pugnare a-
uō.

Vim
uolum
tas comedri
di sicut. **M**uc-
ta lymam con-
succidimis u-
ter labore medico. salutem equitanti uel dram-
bulando. **T**ra tale quid faciendo. **Q**ui
a hinc corpus multum uiuat. **F**ugat enim
uentositates. **C**orpus aptat corroborat
atq; alicuiat. **E**t calorem stomachi accē-
dit. **C**onstringit compagis. **E**t uane
facit superfluos humorēs irriduos. **C**et
flegma descendit facit suer stomachum



num 6



petatis. **N**igus reptitus uel constipatus hinc
um initauent. riuuolorem uel intestinorum
certissime potest incurare. **H**ic coicit uenit
repleto inaurit paralism. **N**ec post abum
quis aurat multum uel equiter. **Q**ui si
nullac et pisces comedunt se se lepram uel ma
culam allum inaurit. **N**atum et lac si
militer operantur. **C**ognitione quatuor

in membrozorū
principaliū
lominiis et
principali. et
primo de in
firmitate ca
pitis et eius
irmedio.

Oopus
diuidi
tur in quatu
or partes.

Prima pars est caput. **N**uando ergo in
eo congregantur superfluuitates. potens facere
perire signa. **Q**ue sunt tenebrositas oculorum.
Grauitas superciliorum. Reptussones.
temporum. **T**inuntis aurum. **A**ncient
o nazum. **N**igus sentiat in se hinc accider-



temperatur et corrodatur. **¶** Quia sanitas in duobus his consistit. **¶** Scinduntur in luctu. Quod distruccio et corruptio corporis prouenit ex duabus causis. **¶** Una est naturalis. **¶** Alia est contra naturalem. **¶** Naturalis prouenit ex contrarium qualitatum repugnancia et contradictione. scilicet quando siccitas dominatur in corpore. **¶** Corruptio vero contra naturalem prouenit ex aliqua causa accidentali. sive ex bello. sive ex offensione aliquo lapidem. sive ex aliis causis fortuitis. sive ex infirmitate et in malo consilio.

¶ De diversis generibus ciborum ad irgeni pertinenteribus sed in diversitatem sui et complexius.

¶ Ab omnibus quedam sunt subtilia.

¶ Quidam grossa.

¶ Quidam media. **¶** Subtilia subtile generant sanguinem claram et bonum.

¶ Quae sunt ut frumentum. **¶** Nulli galli



